



**THE MUGHALS AND THE RĀJPUTS**  
**1605–1659 A.D.**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
**Doctor of Philosophy**  
IN  
**HISTORY**

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**1982**

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PREFACE

In this thesis I have tried to evince the position of the Rājputs as a group in the Mughal hierarchy. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor who recruited the Rājput chiefs in his service. They enjoyed high position under Akbar. But the debate among the modern historians about the deterioration in the status of the Rājput nobility under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahan attracted me to examine this problem thoroughly. I have taken into account the Rājput chiefs of whole of the Mughal Empire. It helps me to see their position in the context of other sections of the Mughal nobility. Besides, I have strived to show the status enjoyed by the different Rājput clans and individual chiefs within the Rājput nobility. I have worked out the factors responsible for the fluctuations in the fortunes of the different Rājput clans and individuals. However, whenever possible, the subsequent information has been used to perceive the Mughal-Rājput polity more clearly.

I would like to thank my teachers, colleagues and friends without whom it would have been impossible for me to complete this dissertation in this shape.

It is undoubtedly true that without the supervision of Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan, it was not an easy task for me to finish it. Nevertheless, if there is any error in this dissertation, I am solely responsible for it.

I am very grateful to Professor Irfan Habib who provided me with valuable suggestions regarding some problems whenever I met him. I am also grateful to Professor M. Athar Ali to clear my conceptions on the relations of the Mughal Emperors with their nobility.

I was also benefited by the knowledge of my colleagues and friends Drs. S.P. Gupta, I.A. Zilli, Iqbal Husain and Afzal Husain. I am indebted to my friend Miss Shirleen Moosvi for helping me in calculating the mansabs and their interpretations. I ought to be beholden to Cartographers Messrs Aftab Aziz and Faiz Habib who took keen interest in drawing the maps.

I am also grateful to Mr M.L. Budhwar, Professor Ziaul Hasan Farooqi, Professor M. Azhar Ansari, Professor Mushirul Hasan, Drs. Aminuddin, S.N. Sinha, S. Jamaluddin and Sunita Zaidi for encouraging me to complete my thesis.

I am beholden to the U.G.C. for awarding me the Teacher Fellowship which enabled me to complete this work. I am also grateful to the authorities and staff of the research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh; Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh; Zakir Hussain Library, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; Anoop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner; State Archives of Rajasthan, Bikaner, and Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

Lastly, it is my pleasure to thank Mr A.A. Zaidi who typed my thesis very carefully.

S. Inayat Ali Zaidi.  
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### ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations have been generally used  
in the tables and the appendices only.

A.N.	<u>Akbar Nâma</u>
A'în	<u>A'in-i Akbari</u>
Bernier	<u>Travels in the Mogul Empire</u>
D.V.	<u>Dalpat Vilâs</u>
D.K.	<u>Dayâl Das-re Khyat</u>
G. Table	<u>Genealogical Table of the Kachawâha Clan</u>
I.J. or Iqbâl	<u>Iqbâl Nâma-i Jahângiri</u>
J.V.	<u>Jaipur ki Vanshâveli</u>
Kambu	<u>'Amal-i Sâlih</u>
K.T.	<u>Khulâsat-ut Tawârikh</u>
Lâhorî	<u>Bâdshâh Nâma</u>
M.P.-re Viget	<u>Mârwâr-re-Pargana-re-Vigat</u>
Mâsum	<u>Târikh-i Shah Shujâ'i</u>
M.K.	<u>Muhta Nainsi-re Khyat</u>
M.T.	<u>Muntakhab-ut Tawârikh</u>
M.R.	<u>Ma'sîr-i Rahîmî</u>
M.L.	<u>Muntakhab-ul Lybab</u>
M.U.	<u>Ma'sîr-ul Umarâ'</u>
M.J.	<u>Ma'sîr-i Jahângiri</u>
M.A.	<u>Ma'sîr-i 'Alamgiri</u>
T.Alpi	<u>Târikh-i Alpi</u>
T.D.	<u>Târikh-i Dilkusha</u>
Tad	<u>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</u>
T.U.	<u>Tazkîrat-ul Umarâ'</u>
T.J.	<u>Tâzuk-i Jahângiri</u>
V.V.	<u>Vîr Vîned</u>
Wâris	<u>Bâdshâh Nâma</u>
Waqâ'i Ajmér	<u>Waqâ'i Sarkâr Ranthambor wa Ajmér</u>
Z.K.	<u>Zekhîrat-ul Khawâilmâ</u>

## Chapter I

### THE RĀJPUTS AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: THE ANTECEDENTS UNDER AKBAR

Emperor Akbar realising the potentialities of local zamīndārs absorbed them in the Mughal hierarchy. Among these zamīndārs, Rājputs occupied an important place. By this time, they had established a number of principalities in large regions, while elsewhere they formed a dominant agrarian class. In their regions, they held strong forts for their defence. One of the reasons which prompted Akbar to conciliate with these local zamīndārs is explained by Ārif Qandhārī, historian of Akbar's early reign. According to him, there were some two or three hundred rājās (rājā-i zamīndār, ruling chiefs) who possessed very strong forts. Ārif Qandhārī says that since each fort would have taken one or half year to conquer, it was not possible for an Emperor of Hindūstān to conquer all the forts of rājās by force; it was thought better by Akbar to conciliate them. This was all the more advantageous, says Ārif Qandhārī, since the Rājputs had determined to be sincere and loyal to the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> These chiefs played a considerable

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1. Tarikh-e-Akbari, pp. 47-48.

role in extending his authority. Akbar rewarded them by assigning high mansabs, offices and jagirs. Akbar cemented his bonds with them by contracting matrimonial alliances. Certainly, all of Rajput chiefs were not treated with equal generosity. The highest privileges were enjoyed by only a few of them. Abūl Fazl has furnished us with the traditional figures of infantry and cavalry of some of the important Rajput clans. Obviously these figures are inflated; but the figures are indicative of the relative size of each of the different Rajput clans as popularly believed, at the end of Akbar's reign. The following table of the clans and their military strength shows the hierarchical position of the Rajput clans:

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Cavalry</u>	<u>Infantry</u>
1. Rathors	60,000	200,000
2. Chauhan	50,000	200,000
3. Jaden	50,000	200,000
4. Sialanki	30,000	100,000
5. Ghelet	20,000	300,000
6. Kachawahas	20,000	100,000
7. Panwar	12,000	50,000
8. Tunwar	10,000	25,000
9. Barpujar	10,000	40,000 <sup>1</sup>

1. Masai Akbari, III, pp.44-45.

However, a pertinent question arises as to the criterion on whose basis these chiefs were enrolled in the service? The selection may also be viewed geographically: From what areas the favoured Rajputs came? For this purpose, relying upon the information in the Ain-i Akbari, I have prepared a list of persons belonging to the different sarkārs where Rajput clans are recorded as zamindārs. I have also prepared two maps showing the geographical distribution of zamindārs of the different Rajput clans in Akbari Empire.

#### Kachawaha

Bhār Mal was the first Rajput chief who along with a number of Kachawaha chiefs joined Akbar's service in 1562. He entered into matrimonial ties with Akbar by marrying his daughter to him.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, in 1584 Bhagwant Dās' daughter was given in marriage to Prince Salīm.<sup>2</sup> Throughout Akbar's reign, the Kachawaha nobles enjoyed a privileged position among the Rajput chiefs. They were assigned important offices. In 1572, when Akbar left <sup>Agra</sup> for Gujarat, Bhār Mal was appointed Vazīr-i Matlīq (Minister with Unlimited Powers) and was left behind at Agra.<sup>3</sup> In 1583, Jagannāth and Lunkaran were

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1. Akbarnām, II, pp.157-58.

2. Ibid., III, p.451.

3. Muntakhabat Tarīqat Kh, I, p.151.

appointed to look after the department of armory and communications.<sup>1</sup> Rāja Āskaran was put incharge of the properties of the deceased.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Jagmāl got the charge of the department of purchase and sales.<sup>3</sup> In 1586, when Akbar introduced two posts of sūbedār in each sūba, Jagannāth, Rāja Āskaran, Rāja Bhagwant Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh were simultaneously appointed as sūbedār of the sūbas of Ajmer, Āgra, Lāhore and Kābul respectively.<sup>4</sup> In 1591, when the Khālisa administration was reorganised and Akbarī Empire was divided into four divisions, Rām Dās was made incharge of one of the divisions consisting of the sūbas of Āgra, Allāhabād, Bihār and Bengāl.<sup>5</sup> In 1596, when the exaction of tamchā was forbidden throughout the Empire, Rām Dās was assigned the charge of the routes from Lāhore to Gujarāt.<sup>6</sup> During the period 1595-1605, the offices of qilādar of three important forts Rohtās, Ranthambhore and Gwālier were respectively held by Mān Singh,<sup>7</sup>

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1. Akbar-nāma, III, pp.404-5.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. p.511.

5. Ibid. p.605.

6. Ibid. p.670.

7. Ibid. tr. p.1251, F.N.1.; Tarzuk-i Jahāngirī, p.65.

Jagannāth<sup>1</sup> and Rāj Singh.<sup>2</sup> Akbar appointed the Rajput nobles to guard his harem; but Kachawaha nobles seem to have especially preferred for this purpose. Rām Dās and Raisāl darbārī were thus appointed guardians of harem.<sup>3</sup>

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, there were eleven Kachawaha nobles out of thirty Rajput mansabdārs of 200 and above. All the Kachawahas belonged to the sūba of Ajmer.<sup>4</sup> They did not hold a compact or extensive territory,<sup>5</sup> however. They held zamindāri rights in the sūbas of Ajmer and Āgra. A part of the sarkār of Ajmer was in the zamindāri of Kachawahas.<sup>6</sup> From other sources, one knows that the Kachawahas enjoyed zamindāri rights in Āmber,<sup>7</sup> Deosa,<sup>8</sup> Sāmbhar,<sup>9</sup> Narāiṇa,<sup>10</sup> Naeta<sup>11</sup>,

1. Akbarnāma, III, p.825; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.301.

2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.764, 825.

3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāīnīn, II, pp.366-67; Mā'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.195-97, 172-74.

4. See Appendix 'B'.

5. See Map No.2

6. Aīnat Akbarī, II, pp.508-9.

7. Akbarnāma, III, p.339.

8. Ibid., p.156.

9. Muntakhabat Tawāīikh, II, p.252; M.U., II, p.116.

10. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.304.

11. Akbarnāma, III, p.63.

Sāngāner,<sup>1</sup> Phāgī<sup>2</sup> and Mauzabād.<sup>3</sup> In sarkār Nāgore, the Shaikhāmat Kachawahas held Amarsar<sup>4</sup> and Manoharnagar<sup>5</sup> in their zamindārie.

In the sūba of Āgra, seven parganas have Kachawahas recorded as the zamindār-caste in the Aīn-i Akbarī. These were the parganas of Bilāspur in sarkār Kälpi,<sup>6</sup> Anthiabhabru in Alwar,<sup>7</sup> Khandela in Nārnsul<sup>8</sup> and Sahār and three parganas (Ribei, Khēka, and Kharela) in sarkār Erach.<sup>9</sup> But no Kachawaha from these parganas of sūba Āgra is known to have held any mansab.

#### Rāthors:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, the Rāthors chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Merta joined Akbar's service. Akbar contracted matrimonial ties with the chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikaner

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1. Vik Vined, p.1275, Sāngāner was founded by Bhār Mal's brother Sāṅga.
  2. Vekh Report, dated 1693 A.D., RSA Bikaner,
  3. Mukta Nainai ya Khyāt, I, p.314.
  4. Ibid., p.310.
  5. Akbarānam, III, p.221.
  6. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, p.244.
  7. Ibid., II, p.448.
  8. Ibid., p.449.
  9. Ibid.

and Merta.<sup>1</sup> Rāther chiefs were also assigned important offices. In 1586, Rāo Rāi Singh of Bikāner was appointed one of the two sūbedārs of sūba Lahore<sup>2</sup>. In 1604, Akbar assigned pargana Shamsabād to Rāo Rāi Singh as his watan jagir.<sup>3</sup> In 1596, Rām Rāi and Kessu Dās were appointed dīwāns of the sūbas of Delhi<sup>4</sup> and Agra<sup>5</sup> respectively. At the end of Akbar's reign, seven Rāther nobles held the mansabs of 10,000/2000.<sup>6</sup> All of them, except Pratāp, chief of Baglāna, belonged to the sūba of Ajmer.<sup>7</sup>

The Rāthers were found as zamīndārs in five sūbas, namely, Agra, Malwa, Gujarāt, Delhi and Ajmer. In the sūba of Delhi, they held zamīndāri rights in six parganas belonging to the sarkār of Hisār Firoza. The pargana of Bhatner was in the bhūmi rights of Rāthers.<sup>8</sup> A part of the zamīndāris of the other five parganas namely Bhangiwāl, Bharangi, Toshān, Sidhmukh and Fatehbād were held by them.<sup>9</sup>

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1. For the matrimonial ties, see Appendix 'B' of Chapter VI.

2. Akbarnāma, III, p.511.

3. Akbar's farmān to Rāo Rāi Singh, RSA Bikāner.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.670.

5. Ibid.

6. See Appendix A.

7. See Appendix A.

8. Aīāni Akbari, II, p.526.

9. Ibid. pp.526, 527.

In sūba Mālwa, the Rāthors enjoyed zamīndārī rights in the sarkārs of Ujjain and Sārangpur. In sarkār Ujjain, they held the parganas Ujjain and Badhnāwar in their zamīndāri,<sup>1</sup> and in sarkār Sārangpur, they enjoyed zamīndārī rights in the parganas of Palpun and Muhammādpur.<sup>2</sup>

In sūba Āgra, the pargana Shamsabād in sarkār Kannauj had Rāther zamīndārs.<sup>3</sup> In sūba Gujurāt, the Rāthors are recorded against the pargana of Idar which belonged to the sarkār of Ahmadabad.<sup>4</sup> Another large tract between Surat and Nandurbār, known as Baglāna was held by the Rāther chief Pratāp.<sup>5</sup>

In sūba Ajmer, Rāthors held the bulk of Western Rājasthān within their two great principalities of Jodhpur and Bikāner. Jodhpur constituted a sarkār by itself;<sup>6</sup> and the principality of Bikāner accounted for about half the sarkār of Bikāner (which also contained Jaibalmer).<sup>7</sup> In sarkār Nāgaur, the pargana of Merta had Rāther zamīndārs.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Nīmat Akbarī, II, p.457.

2. Ibid., p.462.

3. Ibid., p.446.

4. Ibid., p.484.

5. Ibid., p.492.

6. Ibid., p.511.

7. Ibid., p.573.

8. Akbar-nāma, III, p.195; cf. Muhtas Mainsī rā Khvāt, I, p.89.

Ghelots:

In 1577, Rāwāl Āskaran and Rāwāl Pratāp, chiefs of Dungarpur and Bānswāra accepted Mughal suzerainty. Rāwāl Āskaran also gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.<sup>1</sup> Neither of the chiefs received mansabs. Rāwāl Punja of Dungarpur and Rāwāl Samarī of Bānswāra are noticed as mansabdārs only in the first decade of Shāhjahān's reign.<sup>2</sup> The principalities of Dungarpur and Bānswāra belonged to the sarkār of Sirohi within sūba of Ajmer.<sup>3</sup>

Ghelots held zamīndāri rights in the sūbas of Awadh, Āgra, Delhi and Ajmer. In sarkār Awadh, pargana Panchhamnāth and in sarkār Lucknow, parganas Banjarmau and Sandilah were in their zamīndāri.<sup>4</sup> In sūba Āgra, their zamīndāris were in parganas of Jalesar and Maluk Sāh which belonged to the sarkārs of Āgra and Kannauj<sup>5</sup> respectively. In sūba Delhi, pargana of Daona belonged to them.<sup>6</sup>

1. Akbarnāma, III, pp.196, 210.

2. Lahori, Bādshāhnāma, I, pp.305, 308.

3. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.511-12.

4. Ibid., pp.415, 439.

5. Ibid., pp.443, 446.

6. Ibid., p.519.

Sisodias:

The Sisodias are a sub-clan of Chalisas.<sup>1</sup> In the early years of Akbar's reign, Jagmāl who was disgruntled with his younger brother the famous Rāna Pratap of Mewār joined Akbar's service.<sup>2</sup> Another Sisodia chief who took up Akbar's service was Sagar.<sup>3</sup> Rāi Durga of Rāmpura also joined Mughal service.<sup>4</sup> Rāi Durga was given some administrative offices. In 1584, he was one of the nobles who was put incharge of Khāliqān administration.<sup>5</sup> In 1586, he was appointed the deputy sūkhdār of Ajmer.<sup>6</sup>

Sisodias held zamīndārī rights in the gūba of Mālwa and Ajmer. In gūba Mālwa, three parganas Ringnād, Basarah and Jamiauwāra, in sarkār of Mandsor, were in their zamīndārī.<sup>7</sup> The sarkār of Chittor was actually the great Sisodia principality of Mewār; even though the Mughals had occupied large portions of Mewār, the Aīn-i Akbarī records the Sisodias as the zamīndārs of Chittor.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, p.519.
  2. Akbarnāma, II, p.393.
  3. Aīn-i Akbarī, I, p.230; Māwār-ka-Pargana-ka-Vigat, II, pp.491-92.
  4. Aīn-i Akbarī, I, p.225.
  5. Akbarnāma, III, pp.404-5.
  6. Ibid., p.511.
  7. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, p.446.
  8. Ibid., p.509.

Bhātis:

In 1570, the Bhāti chief Rāwal Har Rāj of Jaisalmer accepted Mughal suzerainty and gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.<sup>1</sup> After Har Rāj's death in 1578, his son and successor Rāwal married his daughter to Prince Salīm.<sup>2</sup>

The Bhātis were scattered over the sūbas of Delhi, Lāhore, Multān and Ajmer. In sūba Delhi, they held a part of the parganas of Khizzrabād and Sikandrabād as zamīndārs.<sup>3</sup> In the sarkār of Sirhind, pargana Bhatinda was in their bhūmi rights.<sup>4</sup> In the sūbas of Lāhore and Multān, they held a number of parganas.<sup>5</sup> The Bhātis of Lāhore and Multān were, however, Muslims<sup>6</sup> and, therefore, separated from the Bhāti Rajputs in all but name. In sūba Ajmer the Bhātis are recorded as zamīndārs in Jaisalmer,<sup>7</sup> Pugal and Bikampur.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Akbarnāma, II, p.359.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, pp.159-60.

3. Ain-i Akbarī, II, pp.518, 519.

4. Ibid., p.527.

5. See Appendix B

6. Ibbatson, Punjab Castes, p.145.

7. Ain-i Akbarī, II, p.513.

8. Muhta Nainal-za Khyāt, II, p.363; Mārmār-za-Pargana-rg-Vigat, I, p.84.

Hādas:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, Rāo Surjan Hāda of Bundī submitted to the Mughals.<sup>1</sup> A large portion of sarkār Ranthambhore, which was in the possession of the Rāo, was taken by the Mughals.<sup>2</sup> Rāo Surjan and his son Bhoj were taken into imperial service.<sup>3</sup> In the sūba of Ajmer, the Aīn records the whole sarkār of Ranthambhor within the zamīndārī of the Hādas.<sup>4</sup>

Chauhāns:

In 1595, there were two Chauhān chiefs Medini Rāi and Rām Chand who held māngabs.<sup>5</sup> But the region from where they came, is not known. The Aīn-i Akbarī records the Chauhāns as zamīndārs in six sūbas, Awadh, Āgra, Mālwa, Gujarāt, Delhi and Ajmer. They held zamīndārī rights in as many as sixty parganas. But unlike the Sisodias of Mewār, Rāthors of Jodhpur and Hādas of Ranthambhore, they no longer possessed any large principalities. Their zamīndārī rights were scattered in the different

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1. Akbarnāma, II, pp.140, 338.
  2. Ibid., III, p.210.
  3. Aīn-i Akbarī, I, pp.161, 162.
  4. Ibid., II, pp.509-11.
  5. Ibid., I, p.227.

parganas and sarkārs.<sup>1</sup> In sūba of Āgra, they are recorded against 32 parganas, in the sarkārs of Āgra - 6, Kannauj - 11, Kol - 7, Alwar - 4, Nārnol - 3 and Kälpi-1.<sup>2</sup> In sūba Mālwa, they held zamīndāri rights of eleven parganas, nine of which were in the sarkār of Sārangpur,<sup>3</sup> and the remaining two in sarkār Chanderi<sup>4</sup> and Mandesor.<sup>5</sup> In sūba Delhi too they held eleven parganas: sarkār Delhi - 5,<sup>6</sup> Sirhind - 4,<sup>7</sup> Badāun - 1<sup>8</sup> and Sambhal - 1.<sup>9</sup> In sūba Awadh, five parganas returned them as their zamīndārs, viz., 3 parganas in sarkār Awadh, one in Khairabād, and one in Lucknow.<sup>10</sup> In sūba Gujarat, three parganas of sarkār of Ahmadabād returned Chauhān zamīndārs.<sup>11</sup> In sūba Ajmer, the zamīndārf of sarkār Ajmer was shared by the Chauhāns, Kachawāhas and Afghāns.<sup>12</sup>

1. See Map No.2.
2. For the names of the parganas, see Appendix 'B'.
3. Ain-i Akbari, II, pp.461, 462.
4. Ibid., pp.460, 466.
5. Ibid., p.466.
6. Ibid., pp.518, 519, 520.
7. Ibid., p.528.
8. Ibid., p.520.
9. Ibid., p.523.
10. Ibid., pp.435, 438, 439.
11. Ibid., pp.493, 494.
12. Ibid., pp.508-9.

Panwārs:

In the north-east of sarkār of Little Cutch (Jāmnagar), the pargana of Chaubisi was held by Panwār Rājputs.<sup>1</sup> During Akbar's Gujarāt campaign (1575-78 AD), Morvi which was held by Karan Panwār was assigned to Khangar, chief of Cutch.<sup>2</sup> In 1592, it appears that Morvi was taken back from Khangar's son and successor Bhāra, and in 1593, again it was assigned to Karan.<sup>3</sup> About another Panwār chief Achal of Subd, it is stated that he sided with Sultān Muẓaffar in 1582 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

In the Āīn-i Akbarī, the Panwār chiefs Jagmāl and Sāṅga are noted as mānsabdārs<sup>5</sup> but the region to which they belonged is not known.

The Panwārs held zamīndāris in the sūbas of Āgra and Gujarāt. In the sūba of Āgra, the parganas of Bahi (sarkār Āgra) and Kampil (Kanauj) were held by Panwārs.<sup>6</sup> In the sarkār of Payānwan, they held four parganas namely Payānwan, Bhasanda,

1. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, p.116.

2. Akbarnāma, III, p.530.

3. Ibid., p.593. See also Ahsan Raza Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire, p.81.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.429.

5. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, pp.227, 231.

6. Ibid., pp.443, 446.

Jarkoli, and Suchendi.<sup>1</sup> In sūba Gujarāt, they are recorded as zamīndārs in the parganas Dholqa (sarkār Ahmadabād), Baroda (sarkār Baroda) and Morvi (sarkār Sorath).<sup>2</sup>

Tunwars:

Kishen Dās Tunwar who probably belonged to Gwālior held a mansab.<sup>3</sup> The Tunwars held zamīndāri rights in sūbas of Awadh, Āgra and Delhi. In the sūba of Āgra, five parganas Anhan, Badrhattah, Dandrolī, Rāipur and Gwālior, all belonging to the sarkār of Gwālior were in their zamīndāris.<sup>4</sup> In sarkār Nārnol, they held three parganas, viz., Singhāwah Udaipur, Kotputli and Kanori.<sup>5</sup> In sarkār Erach, they held Bijpur.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in sūba Delhi, five parganas have them recorded as their zamīndārs,<sup>7</sup> viz. pargana Path of sarkār Delhi and parganas Atkhara, Jamālpur, Muhim and part of Shānzdah dihāt in sarkār Hisār Firozah.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Ain-i Akbari, I, pp.449, 450.
  2. Ibid., II, pp.494, 496, 487.
  3. Ibid., I, p.229.
  4. Ibid., pp.447, 448.
  5. Ibid., p.454.
  6. Ibid., p.448.
  7. Ibid., II, pp.526, 527.
  8. Ibid.

Bhaduriyas:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, the Bhaduriyas of HatKant are mentioned as having been reduced to submission.<sup>1</sup> In 1595, Mukutman and his nephew Bikramājit held the mangab of 500 and 1000<sup>2</sup> respectively. The Bhaduriyas were quite numerous around the capital city of Āgra. Their military strength amounted to some ten thousand cavalry men and one lakh foot soldiers.<sup>3</sup> They are recorded as zamindārs in the parganas of Hatkant and Etāwah in the sarkār of Āgra.<sup>4</sup> In pargana Etāwah, they shared the zamindārf with Brāhmans.<sup>5</sup>

Baghelas:

The Baghela chief Rām Chandra of Bhatta Gahora submitted early in Akbar's reign.<sup>6</sup> Akbar also established matrimonial tie with the Baghela clan.<sup>7</sup> Rāja Rām Chandra held the mangab of 2000 zāt.<sup>8</sup> According to Suryamal Dās, Akbar gave the title

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1. Akbarnāma, II, p.78.

2. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣin, I, p.234; Āin-i Akbarī, I, p.228.

3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣin, MS. f.108a.

4. Āin-i Akbarī, II, pp.443, 444.

5. Ibid.

6. Akbarnāma, II, pp.181, 180-83, 340, 341.

7. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣin, I, p.104.

8. Āin-i Akbarī, I, p.224.

of 'Bhaiya' (brother) to the Rāja.<sup>1</sup> In 1592, after the death of Rām Chandra, his son Balbhadra, who was at the court, was recognised as his successor. But Balbhadra died before reaching Bhatta.<sup>2</sup> In Bhatta, the sardārs or chiefs placed the dead ruler's minor son Bikramājit on the throne.<sup>3</sup> Akbar disapproved of this choice on account of his minority.<sup>4</sup> After a long struggle, the sardārs were subdued. In 1601, Akbar recognised Duryodhan, son of Balbhadra and the Mughal noble Bhārī Chand was appointed as his atāliq (Adviser).<sup>5</sup>

The Baghelas held zamīndārī rights in the subas of Gujarat and Allahabād. In suba Gujarat, pargana Harsoi of sarkār Baroach was in their zamīndārī.<sup>6</sup> Other parganas held by them were Sordhar, Gondal, Rayit and Dhanal.<sup>7</sup> Suba Allahabād included the principality of Bhatta Gahora with its capital Bandegarh in the sarkār of Bhatta Gahora (corresponding to the modern princely state of Rewa).<sup>8</sup>

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1. Vīr Vīned, p.556.

2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.641-48.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Akbarnāma, III, p.788; Muhtā Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.133; Hāfiṣir-ul-Umarā, II, pp.136-38.

6. Āin-i Akbarī, II, p.496.

7. Ibid., p.489.

8. Ibid., p.728.

### Bundelas:

In 1573, Rāja Madhukar Sah of Orchha recognised Mughal suzerainty.<sup>1</sup> But he defied imperial orders from time to time.<sup>2</sup> After his death in 1591, his son Rām Chand succeeded him.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of Akbar's reign, Rām Chand held the mansab of 500 zat.<sup>4</sup> In 1602, when Bir Singh Deo Bundela killed Abūl Fazl, Rām Chand was sent with Rāi Rāyān to pursue Bir Singh.<sup>5</sup>

The zamīndārs of Bundelas were in gūbas of Āgra and Mālwa. In gūba Āgra, the three parganas Parāich, Bardun and Khāndbājrah in sarkār Payānwan had Bundelas as their zamīndārs.<sup>6</sup> In gūba Mālwa, they shared the pargana Bara of sarkār Chanderi with Kāyasthas.<sup>7</sup>

### Dhandhera:

In 1564, Jagman of the Dhandhera clan submitted to the Mughals.<sup>8</sup> Akbar used to go to the regions of Dhandhera for

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.77.
  2. Ibid., pp.209-10, 230, 261.
  3. Ibid., pp.604-5, 628, 750.
  4. Aīn-i Akbarī, I, p.228.
  5. Akbarnāma, III, p.813.
  6. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.449, 450.
  7. Ibid., p.460.
  8. Akbarnāma, II, p.233.

hunting excursions.<sup>1</sup> Jagman was admitted to the imperial service.<sup>2</sup> In 1599, after the death of Jagman, his son Chatr Bhoj sought imperial recognition as his father's successor.<sup>3</sup> Abūl Fażl calls him one of the chief būmīs (zamīndārs) of Mālwa.<sup>4</sup> He controlled a large tract in the central India.<sup>5</sup>

Jādons:

Rāja Gopāl Dās and Sānwal Dās of Karauli are known to have joined Akbar's service.<sup>6</sup> A certain Tulsi Dās Jādon also held a mansab.<sup>7</sup> At the time of his death, Gopāl Dās held the mansab of 2000 zāt.<sup>8</sup>

Jādons held zamīndāri rights in sūbas of Mālwa, Gujarāt and Āgra. In the sūba of Mālwa, pargana Nolai of sarkār Ujjain returned Jādons as zamīndārs.<sup>9</sup> In sūba Gujarāt, they held

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1. Akbarnāma, II, p.233.

2. Ibid., III, p.832; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.504.

3. Akbarnāma, III, p.751.

4. Ibid.

5. According to Shāh Nawāz the territory of Dhandhera comprised some of the parganas of sarkār Sārangpur. Ma'ṣāq-ul Umarā, II, pp.265-66.

6. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.231.

7. Ibid., p.229.

8. Ishqāt-i Akbarī, II, p.445.

9. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, p.457.

the pargana Visālnagar in sarkār Pattan.<sup>1</sup> In sūba Āgra, the whole sarkār Mandīāsī is assigned to them.<sup>2</sup>

Pundīrs:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, Bakhtmal, chief of Mau in the Panjāb hills submitted to the Mughals.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of Akbar's reign, his successor Rāja Bāso (1580-1613), seems to have gained the mansab of 1500 zāt.<sup>4</sup> The principality of the Pundīr chiefs of Mau comprised the parganas of Mau, Dhameri, Paithān and Shāhpur in the sūba of Lāhore.<sup>5</sup> In the sūba of Āgra and the sarkār of Kol, the parganas Akbarābād, Jalāli, Sikandra Rāo and Malakpur were in their zamīndārī.<sup>6</sup> In pargana Payānwan also, they enjoyed bhūmī rights.<sup>7</sup> Pargana Fatehpur belonging to the sūba of Delhi and sarkār of Sirhind was controlled by the Pundīrs.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Ain-i Akbarī, /p.495.

2. Ibid., pp.450-51.

3. Akbarnāma, II, p.50.

4. Ibid., III, p.821; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.23.

5. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣ, III, p.118; Delaat, p.59. According to Hutchinson, Shahpur was founded by Bakhtmal. History of the Punjab Hill States, Vol. I, pp.213, 215, 217.

6. Ain-i Akbarī, II, p.447.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p.528.

Bargujars:

During Akbar's reign, no chief of the Bargujar clan is known to have held mansab. For the first time in 1611, Anup Rāy Bargujar on saving Jahāngīr from a tiger was granted a mansab.<sup>1</sup> However, from the Aīn-i Akbarī, it appears that the Bargujars held zamindarīs in the sūbas of Delhi and Āgra. In sūba Delhi, they held three parganas Jadwār, Majhaula and Naroli in the sarkār of Sambhal,<sup>2</sup> pargana of Hindau in sarkār Delhi and Manglur in sarkār Sahāranpur.<sup>3</sup>

In sūba Āgra, they held the parganas Pahāsu and Khurja and a part of pargana Shikārpur in sarkār Kol.<sup>4</sup> They held three parganas Balhār, Balheri and Deoti-Sanjari in sarkār Alwar.<sup>5</sup> In sarkār Āgra, the Bargujars held the single pargana of Banāwar.<sup>6</sup>

Gaur:

None of Gaur chiefs are known to have served under Akbar. It is for the first time during Prince Shāh Jahān's rebellion

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.90; Pelsaert, p.53.
  2. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.518, 522, 523.
  3. Ibid., p.525.
  4. Ibid., p.447.
  5. Ibid., pp.451, 452.
  6. Ibid., p.443.

that Gopāl and Bal Rām Gaur who were previously in the service of Rāo Ratan Hāda left it and joined the Prince.<sup>1</sup> After Shāh Jahān's accession, a number of Gaur nobles were taken into service.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, Gaura held zamīndāri rights in the sūbas of Delhi, and Awadh. Four/sūba Delhi namely Chaupālah, Shāhi, Lakhnor and Neodhana, all of sarkār Sambhal, had Gaur zamīndārs.<sup>3</sup> In sūba Awadh, Gaura are recorded as zamīndārs in pargana Chhatayapur of sarkār Khairabad.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether any of the Gaura who joined imperial service under Shāh Jahān came from these areas.

#### Solankis:

The Solankis were one of the zamīndār clans of the sūbas of Mālwa and Gujerāt. In sūba Mālwa they are recorded

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1. Mā'āsir-ul-Ummārā; II, pp.250-51.

2. Lāherī, Bāddhāhnāma, I, pp.297, 305, 316, 326.

3. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.522, 523.

4. Ibid., p.437.

as zamindārī in Rāisīn, pargana of sarkār Rāisīn.<sup>1</sup> In sūba Gujarat, they held zamindārī rights in pargana Ahmadnagar of sarkār Ahmadabād.<sup>2</sup> The first Selankī chief enrolled in Mughal service seems to have been Narhar of Nainwa (in Mālwa), who was given a mansab during the reign of Shāh Jahān.<sup>3</sup>

#### Sodas:

It seems that the Sodas of Amarkot accepted Mughal suzerainty in Akbar's time. In 1591, we notice that a certain Rāi of Amarkot rendered military support to the Mughal army in Thatta.<sup>4</sup> But it appears that none of the Soda chiefs was given any noticeable mansab in Akbar's time. According to the Ā'in-i Akbarī, the Sodas held a large tract in the sarkārs of Bhakkar and Nasarpur in their control.<sup>5</sup>

#### Jhāla:

In 1585, the Jhāla chief Rai Singh submitted to Akbar.<sup>6</sup> But we do not find any Jhāla chief in the Mughal mansab hierarchy.

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1. Ā'in-i Akbarī, II, p.458.

2. Ibid., p.493.

3. Lāhorī, Bādshahnāma, I, p.322.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.605.

5. Ā'in-i Akbarī, II, p.557.

6. Akbarnāma, III, pp.465-66.

The authority of the Jhālas extended over the parganas of Birangāon, Halwād, Wadhawāhan, Koha, Daran-Gadra, Bijāna, Patri, Sahāla, Baroda, Jhinjhūwāra, Saujan, Dhulhār and Mandai in Saurāshtra.<sup>1</sup>

Ujjainyas:

In 1565, 'Alī Qulī Khān-i-zamān launched an expedition against the Ujjainyas of Jagdishpur. After a long struggle, Rāja Gajpatī Ujjainya was compelled to surrender to the imperial forces. The fort of Jagdishpur was occupied.<sup>2</sup> The Rāja rendered military service to the Mughal army against Daud Khān Kārrāni of Bengal.<sup>3</sup> There were occasional uprisings by the Ujjainyas<sup>4</sup> but eventually in 1600 A.D. Dalpat Ujjainya submitted to Prince Dānyāl<sup>5</sup> and gave his daughter in marriage to the Prince.<sup>6</sup> None of the Ujjainya chiefs seems to have received mansab during Akbar's reign.

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1. Ain-i Akbari, II, p.487.

2. Tazkirat-ul Mülük, MS. no ff.192b, 194b; Tarikh-i Akbari, pp.220-21.

3. Akbar-nāma, III, pp.22, 96, 99.

4. Ibid., pp.168-70, 188-9, 323.

5. Ibid., p.750.

6. Ibid., p.826.

The zamindārī rights of the Ujjainyas were in the sūba of Bihār and Mālwa. In sarkār Rohtās (sūba Bihār) they controlled a territory comprising the parganas of Uchna, Bihiya, Bhojpur,<sup>1</sup> Ārra, Pīres, Nauner, Panwār, Danwār, Diāna and Baragāon.<sup>2</sup> In sūba Mālwa, the four parganas of Ujjain, Unhel, Panbihār and Dipālpur of sarkār Ujjain have Ujjainyas as zamindārs.<sup>3</sup> But it is not certain if these had any contact with the Ujjainyas of Bihār.

Manhas or Jamuāls:

Rāja Kapoor Chand of Jammu submitted to Akbar as early as 1564, when the Rāja was directed to serve in the expedition against Ādam Khān Ghakkhar.<sup>4</sup> But the chiefs of Jammu intermittently defied the Mughal authorities.<sup>5</sup> However, till the end of Akbar's reign, none of the Manhas chiefs received any mansab.

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1. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, p.457.
  2. Bodh Raj, 'The Account of the Ujjainyas in Bihar', tr. by B.P. Ambhaonthya, Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. XLVIII, 1961, pp.425, 438, 439-40.
  3. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, p.457.
  4. Akbar-nāma, II, p.193.
  5. In 1590, Parasarām, the then chief of Jammu collaborated with the rebel chief of sūba Lāhore. He submitted to Zain Khān Kokaltāsh and offered nashkash to Akbar (Akbar-nāma, III, p.383). Again in 1592, Lāl Doo, chief of Jammu neglected to join an expedition to Kāshmir but submitted soon after. (Akbar-nāma, III, p.631). In 1602, when Rāja Bāsu rebelled, the chief of Jammu wavered in his allegiance to the Mughals. But on Hussain Beg's besieging Jammu, the chief submitted. (Akbar-nāma, III, p.808).

The Manhas held xamīndāris in seven parganas of Sūba Lāhore. Out of the seven, five parganas, viz. Bhaliot, Bhadrān, Ban, Mankot and Jammu belonged to the sarkār of Rechnāu Dāb;<sup>1</sup> and the remaining two Akhander Ambaran and Mangī were in Chenchat Dāb.<sup>2</sup>

Katochis:

The Katoch chief Rām Chandra of Guler seems to have accepted Mughal suzerainty in 1563. He was sent in the expedition against Ādam Khān Gakkhar.<sup>3</sup> In 1572, when Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot rebelled, Rām Chandra arrested the Rāja and sent him to the Mughal court.<sup>4</sup> In subsequent years, he collaborated with other hill chiefs who were in rebellion; but he submitted soon.<sup>5</sup> Again in 1603, upon a revolt of Rāja Jagdish Chandra, the successor of Rām Chandra, the fort of Guler was captured by the Mughals and put into the charge of Rām Dās Udāwat.<sup>6</sup> In

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1. Aīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.544, 545, 546.

2. Ibid., pp.546, 547.

3. Akbarnāma, II, p.193.

4. Taraghāt-i Akbarī, II, pp.257-9.

5. Akbarnāma, III, p.583. See also, Ahsan Raza Khan, Chieftains during the reign of Akbar, pp.45-46.

6. Akbarnāma, III, p.810.

Akbar's time, none of the chiefs of Guler was assigned a mansab.

Another Katoch chief Dharam Chand of Nagarkot seems to have submitted to the Mughals in 1557.<sup>1</sup> But in 1572, for some unknown reasons, the then chief Jaichand was seized by the Mughals.<sup>2</sup> In Jai Chand's absence, his minor son Bidhi Chand challenged the Mughals.<sup>3</sup> After assigning Nagarkot to Birbal, he (Akbar) sent an expedition against Bidhi Chand. Eventually, the Mughal forces succeeded in subduing Bidhi Chand and a treaty was concluded.<sup>4</sup> Bidhi Chand once again defied the Mughals and joined the revolts of the hill chiefs in 1590.

But once again he submitted.<sup>5</sup> Further, in 1598, and 1602, we notice that Bidhi Chand's successor Tilok Chand collaborated with the rebellious hill chiefs. The revolt was put down and consequently Tilok Chand submitted to the Mughals.<sup>6</sup> However, during Akbar's reign, none of the chiefs of Nagarkot succeeded in obtaining mansabs. The Katochs held zamindari rights in the panchayats of Guler and Nagarkot belonging to the sarkar of Barī Deob of sukna Lāhore.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Akbarnāma, II, p.20.

2. Tahqiqat-i Akbarī, II, pp.256-57.

3. Ibid. cf. Akbarnāma, II, p.270.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.36.

5. Ibid., p.383.

6. Ibid., pp.742, 808, 815.

7. Ain-i Akbarī, II, p.543; Hutchinson, I, pp.134-35.

Surajbansi:

Pratāp Singh Verman (1559-1596) accepted Akbar's authority.<sup>1</sup> In 1578, when Tadar Mal was sent to Punjab to make a settlement with the hill chiefs,<sup>2</sup> Pratāp Singh Verman was forced to surrender Rihlu, Chari and Gharoh to the Mughals.<sup>3</sup> Chamba, a mahal of sarkār Rechnāu dēāh in gūba Lāhore, was in the zamīndārī of Surajbansis.<sup>4</sup>

Sena Chandrabansi:

In 1591, Bahādur Shāh, chief of Kishtwār accepted Mughal suzerainty.<sup>5</sup> But he supported the rebel Chak chiefs of Kashmir against the Mughals. At last in 1604, when the Chak chiefs were subdued, Bahādur Shāh himself submitted to the Mughals.<sup>6</sup> In the Aīn's time too the family held zamīndārī rights in the valley of Kishtwār.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Hutchinson, History of the Punjab Hill States, I, p.298.
  2. Akbarnāma, III, p.248.
  3. Hutchinson, History of the Punjab Hill States, I, p.298.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Akbarnāma, III, p.604.
  6. Ibid., p.835.
  7. Ibid.; Hutchinson, II, p.640.

Sambhalia:

In 1581, Rāja Rudra Chand of Kumāon supported the rebel 'Arab Bahādur who created trouble in Bareilly and Sambhal.<sup>1</sup> But the Mughal forces forced the Rāja to submit to them.<sup>2</sup> In 1589, when the Rāja came to the court to render homage to Akbar,<sup>3</sup> the latter presented him a robe of honour, 101 horses and a few parganas were assigned to him in his '*igta'*,<sup>4</sup> presumably out of territory held by him by hereditary succession. A large territory extending from Tibet to Sambhal was controlled by the chiefs of Kumāon.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of Akbar's death in 1605, there were 30 Rājput mangabdārs out of a total of 95.<sup>6</sup> In numerical strength, they comprised 31.5% of the total mansab holders of Akbar. Rājput chiefs held as high mansabs as 42,200/14650 out of the total mansabs of 2,08,000/58,950. The percentage of the mansabs

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.349.

2. Ibid, p.533.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, p.537.

5. Firishta, Vol. I, p.420.

6. See Appendix 'B'. For the total number of the mangabdārs, see, Afzal Hussain's 'The Position of Racial Groups in the Mughal Nobility, 1605-1613', presented to the session of Ind. Hist. Congress, 1979, Waltair. Cyclostyled copy available in the Department of History, Aligarh.

of Rājput chiefs comes to 20.29 in the gāt mansabs and 24.85 in suwār mansabs.<sup>1</sup>

It is significant that the majority of the Rājput chiefs who joined Akbar's service came from sūba of Ajmer. Out of 30 Rājput chiefs, 21 belonged to the sūba.<sup>2</sup> These 21 Rājput chiefs enjoyed the lion's share in the total mansabs of Rājput chiefs. The 21 Rājput chiefs held the mansabs of 41,500/15,700 out of the total of mansabs of 58,300/18,700 given to Rājputs.<sup>3</sup> The province of Ajmer is reported to have contained 90,000 cavalry<sup>4</sup> which was in excess by four times of the reported strength of the whole of the zamīndārs' cavalry of the Mughal Empire.<sup>5</sup>

The Rājput chiefs basically being zamīndārs maintained their own retainers in their principalities. These could in time be presented as troops for the muster and brand. Perhaps, due to this consideration, Akbar paid lower rates on their

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1. See Appendix 'B'. For the total mansabs of the Mughal Empire, see Irfan Habib's 'Manṣab System'- 1595-1637' A.D., pp.221-28.
  2. See Appendix 'A'.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.169. In the Ain-i Akbarī (II, pp.508-13) cavalry figures of the sūba of Ajmer were 86,900.
  5. The total cavalry strength of the Mughal Empire was 3,84,558. See, Irfan Habib, 'Zamīndārs in Ain-i Akbarī', P.I.H.C., pp.320-23.

contingents in comparison to their counterpart Tūrānī and Irānī nobles,<sup>1</sup> who did not similarly have a home recruiting ground.

Among the Rājputs under Akbar, the Kachawāhas came to enjoy a dominating position. All of the Kachawāha chiefs, except one belonged to the sūba of Ajmer. Rāja Bhagwān Dēs and then Mān Singh held important charges and had close access to Akbar himself. Next were the Rāthors, all of whom except one were again from the same sūba. It is also noteworthy that among the hill Rājput chiefs, only Pundīr chief of Mau was taken into imperial service towards the end of Akbar's reign.

The important administrative affairs were assigned either to the Kachawāhas or Rāthors. Among the Rāthors, Rāo Rāi Singh of Bikaner was a particular favourite of Akbar. Rāi Durga Chandrawat of Rāmpura was also given high office.

There was no direct connection between the high position of a Rājput clan in Mughal nobility and the extensiveness of its xamīndāri possessions. The Kachawāhas, compared to other major clans, had no large principality, to begin with, to serve for their base. But still among Rājputs high mānsab went to the territorial chiefs, and not to simple 'soldiers of fortune' as

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1. Ain-i Akbarī, I, p.77; Akbarnāma, III, p.672. See also Ifran Habib, 'The Mānsab System, 1595-1637', pp.221-28; Shireen Moosavi, 'Share of the Nobility in the Revenues of Akbar's Empire, 1595-96', IJSR, Vol. XVII, No.3, pp.336, 339.

in the case of the other sections of the nobility. There were, of course, other factors as well, such as loyalty and close relationship with the Emperor and the performance of the chiefs in service, which also determined the positions enjoyed by individual Rājput chiefs in Akbar's bureaucratic apparatus.

**Appendix 'A'**

**MANSABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS**  
**IN 1605 A.D.**

**KACHAWĀHAS**

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Mansab</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1.	Mān Singh	7000/6000	A.N., III, 839; Shāhnawāz Khān (M.U., II, 168) holds 7000/7000.
2.	Jagannāth	5000/3000	A.N., III, 789.
3.	Rāj Singh	4000/3000	Ibid., 839; Iqbāl, 510.
4.	Mādhō Singh	3000/2000	A.N., III, 821; Iqbāl, 494.
5.	Rām Dās	2000/1200	Tuzuk, 9; Iqbāl, 508.
6.	Maha Singh	2000/ 300	A.N., III, 839.
7.	Bhāo Singh	1000/ 500	Iqbāl, 508; M.U., III, 360; T.U., p. 133; In A.N., III, 836-37, his mansab is 7000 which is obviously a mistake.
8.	Salhadi	700/ 400	A.N., III, 836-37.
9.	Rāi Sāl Darbārī	3000	T.U., p. 152.
10.	Rāi Manohar	400	Aīn, I, 184.
11.	Sakat Singh	1600/ 300	A.N., III, 836.

**RĀTHORS**

1.	Rāi Rāi Singh of Bikāner	4000	Aīn, I, 223; Tabagāt, II, 436.
2.	Pratāp of Baglāna	3000	A.N., III, 770; Tuzuk, 196.
3.	Rāja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur	2000/2000	Vigat, I, 112.

4.	Dalpat s/o Rai Rai Singh	500	<u>Aīn</u> , I, 228.
5.	Kesho Dās Māru of Merta	300	<u>Aīn</u> , I, 229.
6.	Dalpat s/o Meta Rāja of Jodhpur	500	<u>Vigat</u> , II, 492.
7.	Sabal Singh s/o Meta Rāja	500	<u>Ibid.</u>

BUNDELAS

1.	Rām Chand s/o Madhukar	500	<u>Aīn</u> , I, 228; <u>Tuzuk</u> , 39; <u>T.U.</u> , f.157a.
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BHADURIYAS

1.	Rāja Mukund	2000	<u>Z.K.</u> , I, 234; <u>A.N.</u> , III, 834.
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SISODIAS

1.	Sagar	200	<u>Aīn</u> , I, 230; <u>Vigat</u> , II, 491-92.
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DHANDHERAS

1.	Rāja Jagman of Dhanghera	1000	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 832; <u>Iqbāl</u> , 504.
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Hādas

1.	Rāi Bhoj	1000	<u>Tabaqāt</u> , II, 455; <u>Iqbāl</u> , 481; <u>Tuzuk</u> , 66.
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PUNDĪRS

1.	Rāja Bāsu	700	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 821; <u>Tuzuk</u> , 23.
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TUNWARS

1. Rāja Shyām Singh	1000	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 832; <u>Iqbāl</u> , 504.
2. Kishan Dās	300	<u>Āīn</u> , I, 229; <u>Pāttai Potha-re-Khyāt</u> (MS. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna).

BHĀTĪS

1. Rāwāl Bhīm of Jaisalmer	3000	<u>Bhātīnāma</u> , quoted by Shyāmal Dās, <u>V.V.</u> , p. 1763.
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BAGHELAS

1. Rām Dās Baghela of Bandhogarh	2000	<u>Āīn</u> , I, 224 (died in 1618, <u>V.V.</u> , 556; <u>Vigat</u> , II, 490); A.R. Khan includes him in the category of <u>māngabdārs</u> of 200 which is obviously a slip of pen, <u>Chieftains</u> , 236.
2. Bikramājīt	100	<u>Vigat</u> , II, 492.

CHANDRĀWAT

1. Rāi Durga Chandrawat	4000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , 63-4.
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**Appendix 'B'**

**LIST OF THE PARGANAS HELD BY RĀJPUT  
CLANS IN ZAMĪNDĀRĪS IN 1595 A.D.**

**KACHAWĀHĀS**

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Šūba</u>	<u>Sarkār</u>	<u>Pargana</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1.	Āgra	Kēlpi	Bilāspur	<u>Āīn</u> , II, 444.
2.	,,	Erach	Riabānah	<u>Ibid.</u> , 448.
3.	,,	,,	Khākes	<u>Ibid.</u> , 449.
4.	,,	,,	Kharsla	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	,,	Alwar	Anthlāh Babru	<u>Ibid.</u> , 451.
6.	,,	Nārnol	Khandela	<u>Ibid.</u> , 454; <u>Z.K.</u> , II, 367.
7.	,,	Sahār	Sahār	<u>Āīn</u> , II, 455.
8.	Ajmer	Ajmer	Āmber	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 339.
9.	,,	,,	Deosa	<u>A.N.</u> , II, 156.
10.	,,	,,	Sāmbhar	<u>Badāoni</u> , II, 252; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 116.
11.	,,	,,	Narāīna	<u>M.K.</u> , I, 104.
12.	,,	,,	Neota	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 65.
13.	,,	,,	Sānganer	<u>V.V.</u> , 1275.
14.	,,	,,	Phāgī	<u>Vakīl Report</u> , 1693 A.D., <u>RSA</u> , Bikaner.
15.	,,	,,	Mauzabād	<u>M.K.</u> , I, 314.
16.	,,	Nāgora	Amarsar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 318.
17.	,,	,,	Manoharpur	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 221.

RĀTHORS

1.	Delhi	Hissār Firuza	Bhatner	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 526.
2.	,	,	Bhagiwāl	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	,	,	Bharangī	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	,	,	Tosham	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	,	,	Sidhmukh	<u>Ibid.</u> , 527.
6.	,	,	Fatehabād	<u>Ibid.</u>
7.	Mālwa	Ujjain	Ujjain	<u>Ibid.</u>
8.	,	,	Badrnawār	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 457.
9.	,	Sarangpur Palpun		<u>Ibid.</u> , 462.
10.	,	,	Muhammadpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
11.	Āgra	Kannauj	Shamsabād	<u>Ibid.</u> , 446.
12.	Gujarāt	Ahmedabād Idar		<u>Ibid.</u> , 486.
13.	,	,	Baglāna	<u>Ibid.</u> , 492.
14.	Ajmer	Jodhpur	All the <u>parganas</u> of Jodhpur <u>sarkār</u>	<u>Ibid.</u> , 511.
15.	,	Bikāner	Some <u>pargana-</u> <u>s</u> of <u>sarkār</u> Bikāner	<u>Ibid.</u> , 513.
16.	,	Nāgpur	Merta	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 195.

GHELOTS

1.	Awadh	Awadh	Panchamnāth	<u>Āin</u> , II, 435.
2.	,,	Lucknow	Bangarman	<u>Ibid.</u> , 439.
3.	,,	,,	Sandilah	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	Āgra	Āgra	Jalesar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 443.
5.	,,	Kannauj	Malukas	<u>Ibid.</u> , 446.
6.	Delhi	Delhi	Dasna	<u>Ibid.</u> , 519.
7.	Ajmer	Sirohi	Dungapur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 512.
8.	,,	,,	Bānswāra	<u>Ibid.</u> , 511.

SISODIAS

1.	Mālwa	Mandsor	Ringnād	<u>Āin</u> , II, 466.
2.	,,	,,	Basarah	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	,,	,,	Jamiauwāra	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	Ajmer	Chittor	All the par- ganas of Chitter sarkār	<u>Ibid.</u> , 509.

BHĀTĪS

1.	Delhi	Sirhind	Khizrabād	<u>Āin</u> , II, 518.
2.	,,	Delhi	Sikandrabād	<u>Ibid.</u> , 519.
3.	,,	Sirhind	Bhatinda	<u>Ibid.</u> , 527.
4.	Ajmer	Bikāner	Jaisalmer	<u>M.K.</u> , II, 354-5.
5.	,,	,,	Pugal	<u>Ibid.</u> , 363.
6.	,,	,,	Bikampur	<u>Ibid.</u>

7.	Lāhore	Set Jullundar Doāb	Jora	<u>Aīna</u> II, 540.
8.	"	"	Sultānpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	"	"	Shaikhpur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 541.
10.	"	"	Miāni Nuria	<u>Ibid.</u>
11.	"	Bari Doāb Batāla		<u>Ibid.</u> , 542.
12.	"	"	Bīāh	<u>Ibid.</u>
13.	"	"	Jalālabād	<u>Ibid.</u>
14.	"	"	Kasur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 543.
15.	"	Rachna Doāb	Amrakī Shattī	<u>Ibid.</u> , 544.
16.	Multān	Multān (Birun-i Panjnad)	Māret	<u>Ibid.</u> , 552.
17.	"	Dipālpur (Jalandhar Doāb)	Bhatītī Dipālpur Lakhī	<u>Ibid.</u> , 552.
18.	"	"	Qiyāmpur Lakhī	<u>Ibid.</u>
19.	"	"	Lakhī Yusufai	<u>Ibid.</u> , 553.
20.	"	"	Kalanki Lakhī	<u>Ibid.</u>
21.	"	"	Gulnār kī Lakhī	<u>Ibid.</u>
22.	"	"	Lakhī Lesqānlī	<u>Ibid.</u>
23.	"	Dipālpur (Bari Doāb)	Bahārpāl	<u>Ibid.</u>
24.	"	Birun-i Panjnad	Jalālabād	<u>Ibid.</u>
25.	"	"	Jankar	<u>Ibid.</u>
26.	"	"	Muhammadawat	<u>Ibid.</u>
27.	"	Shakkar	Darbela	<u>Ibid.</u> , 554.

HĀDAS

1. Ajmer            Ranthambore        whole garhāk        Aīn, II, 509-11.

CHAUHĀNS

1.	Awadh	Awadh	Anhōnah	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 435.
2.	,,	,,	Daryabād	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	,,	,,	Ruddukī	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	,,	Khairabād	Sārah	<u>Ibid.</u> , 438.
5.	,,	Lucknow	Bijnor	<u>Ibid.</u> , 439.
6.	Āgra	Āgra	Chandawar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 444.
7.	,,	,,	Rāpri	<u>Ibid.</u>
8.	,,	,,	Songar Songri	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	,,	,,	Mandawar	<u>Ibid.</u>
10.	,,	Kēlpi	Kēlpi Shāhpur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 445.
11.	,,	Kanauj	Bhengāon	<u>Ibid.</u>
12.	,,	,,	Patiāli	<u>Ibid.</u>
13.	,,	,,	Bara	<u>Ibid.</u> , 446.
14.	,,	,,	Chhabramau	<u>Ibid.</u>
15.	,,	,,	Gesha	<u>Ibid.</u>
16.	,,	,,	Sāket	<u>Ibid.</u>
17.	,,	,,	Sahāz	<u>Ibid.</u>
18.	,,	,,	Saurikh	<u>Ibid.</u>
19.	,,	,,	Sarer <del>or</del> Barer	<u>Ibid.</u>
20.	,,	,,	Kanauj	<u>Ibid.</u>
21.	,,	,,	Kampil	<u>Ibid.</u>
22.	,,	Kel	Atrauli	<u>Ibid.</u> , 447.

23.	Agra	Kol	Bilrām	<u>Ain.</u> , II, 447.
24.	"	"	Tappal	<u>Ibid.</u>
25.	"	"	Chandaus	<u>Ibid.</u>
26.	"	"	Kol	<u>Ibid.</u>
27.	"	"	Mārahrah	<u>Ibid.</u>
28.	"	"	Malakpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
29.	"	Alwar	Hājipur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 452.
30.	"	"	Sakhān	<u>Ibid.</u>
31.	"	"	Mandāwar	<u>Ibid.</u>
32.	"	"	Mandaur	<u>Ibid.</u>
33.	"	Nārnol	Bērh	<u>Ibid.</u> , 454.
34.	"	"	Barodah Rāna or Bahora	<u>Ibid.</u>
35.	"	"	Pataudi	<u>Ibid.</u>
36.	Mālwa	Chanderī	Jhājhon	<u>Ibid.</u> , 460.
37.	"	Sārangpur	Aehtali	<u>Ibid.</u> , 461.
38.	"	"	Agar	<u>Ibid.</u>
39.	"	"	Talen	<u>Ibid.</u> , 462.
40.	"	"	Sārangpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
41.	"	"	Sandarōī	<u>Ibid.</u>
42.	"	"	Shujapur	<u>Ibid.</u>
43.	"	"	Karhalī or Karapīlī	<u>Ibid.</u>
44.	"	"	Kāyith or Kāoti	<u>Ibid.</u>
45.	"	"	Nangāon	<u>Ibid.</u>
46.	"	Mandesar	Sarāudah	<u>Ibid.</u> , 466.
47.	Gujarāt	Ahmadabād	Rurdhu or Arhar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 493.
48.	"	"	Mahmudabād	<u>Ibid.</u> , 494.
49.	"	"	Mangraj	<u>Ibid.</u>

50.	Ajmer	Ajmer	A part of the <u>sarkār</u> of Ajmer	<u>Ibid.</u> , 508-9.
51.	Delhi	Delhi	Bāghpat	<u>Ibid.</u> , 518.
52.	"	"	Delhi	<u>Ibid.</u> , 519.
53.	"	"	Santha	<u>Ibid.</u>
54.	"	"	Shikārpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
55.	"	"	Karnāl	<u>Ibid.</u> , 520.
56.	"	Badēun	Ajāmīn	<u>Ibid.</u>
57.	"	Sambhal	Kabar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 523.
58.	"	Sirhind	Sadhuṇa	<u>Ibid.</u> , 528.
59.	"	"	Shāhabād	<u>Ibid.</u>
60.	"	"	Mustafābād	<u>Ibid.</u>
61.	"	"	Sultānpur Bārha	<u>Ibid.</u>

PANWĀRS

1.	Āgra	Āgra	Bari	<u>Āīn</u> , II, 443.
2.	"	Kanauj	Kampil	<u>Ibid.</u> , 446.
3.	"	Payānwan	Payānwan	<u>Ibid.</u> , 449.
4.	"	"	Bhasanda	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	"	"	Jharauli	<u>Ibid.</u>
6.	"	"	Sehandī	<u>Ibid.</u> , 450.
7.	Gujarat	Ahmadabād	Dholka	<u>Ibid.</u> , 494.
8.	"	Baroda	Baroda	<u>Ibid.</u> , 496.
9.	"	Sorath	Morvi	<u>Ibid.</u> , 497.
10.	"	"	Chotla	<u>Ibid.</u>

TUNWARS

1.	Awadh	Bahrāich	Firuzabād	<i>Aīn</i> , II, 437.
2.	Āgra	Gwālior	Anhōn	<u>Ibid.</u> , 447.
3.	,,	,	Badrhatta	<u>Ibid.</u> , 448.
4.	,,	,	Dandrolī	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	,,	,	Rāipur	<u>Ibid.</u>
6.	,,	,	Gwālior	<u>Ibid.</u>
7.	,,	Erach	Bijpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
8.	,,	Nārnol	Singānah Udaipur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 454.
9.	,,	,	Ketputli	<u>Ibid.</u>
10.	,,	,	Kanwarī	<u>Ibid.</u>
11.	,,	Narwar	The whole Narwar sarkār	<u>Ibid.</u> , 450.
12.	Delhi	Delhi	Puth	<u>Ibid.</u> , 518.
13.	,,	Hisār Firuzah	Atkhera	<u>Ibid.</u> , 526.
14.	,,	,	Jamālpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
15.	,,	,	Shānzdah Dihāt	<u>Ibid.</u> , 527.
16.	,,	,	Muhimri	<u>Ibid.</u>

BHADURIYAS

1.	Āgra	Āgra	Etāwah	<i>Aīn</i> , II, 443.
2.	,,	,	Hatkont	<u>Ibid.</u> , 444.

BAGHELAS

1.	Gujarāt	Breash(south)	Harset	<i>Aīn</i> , II, 496.
2.	,,	Sorath	Gondal	<u>Ibid.</u> , 489.
3.	,,	,	Sordhar	<u>Ibid.</u>

4.	Gujarāt	Sorath	Rayit	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 489.
5.	,	,	Dhanak	<u>Ibid.</u>
6.	Allāhabād	Batha Gehora	whole <u>sarkār</u>	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 728.

#### BUNDELAS

1.	Āgra	Payānwan	Parancha	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 449.
2.	,	,	Budhon	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	,	,	Khāndbājrah	<u>Ibid.</u> , 450.
4.	Mālwa	Chanderi	Bera	<u>Ibid.</u> , 460.

XII.

#### DHANDMERAS

1.	Mālwa	A large tract known as Dhan-dhera in the Central India was in their <u>zamindāri</u>	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 751.
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#### JĀDONS

1.	Mālwa	Ujjain	Nelai	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 457.
2.	Gujarāt	Pattan	Visehnagar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 495.
3.	Āgra	Sarkār Mandāer was in their <u>zamindāri</u>		<u>Ibid.</u> , 450-51

#### PUNDĪRS

1.	Lāhorā	Sari Deāb	Mau Nurpur	<u>Z.K.</u> , III, 118.
2.	,	,	Dhameri	De last, p.59.
3.	,	,	Paithān	<u>Z.K.</u> , III, 118.
4.	,	,	Shāhpur	Hutchisen, I, 213, 215.
5.	Āgra	Kel	Akbarabād	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 447.

6.	Āgra	Kol	Jalālī	<u>Āin</u> , II, 447.
7.	,,	,,	Sikandra Rāe	<u>Ibid.</u>
8.	,,	,,	Malakpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	,,	Payānwan	Payānwan	<u>Ibid.</u> , 449.
10.	Delhi	Sirhind	Fathpur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 528.

#### BARGUJARS

1.	Āgra	Āgra	Banāwar	<u>Āin</u> , II, 443.
2.	,,	Kol	Pahāsu	<u>Ibid.</u> , 447.
3.	,,	,,	Khurjah	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	,,	,,	Shikārpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	,,	Alwar	Balhār(Bairohar)	<u>Ibid.</u> , 451.
6.	,,	,,	Balehtta	<u>Ibid.</u>
7.	,,	,,	Devati Sanchāri	<u>Ibid.</u> , 452.
8.	Delhi	Delhi	Jharsa	<u>Ibid.</u> , 518.
9.	,,	Sambhal	Jadwār	<u>Ibid.</u> , 522.
10.	,,	,,	Majhawla	<u>Ibid.</u> , 523.
11.	,,	,,	Nareli	<u>Ibid.</u>
12.	,,	Sahāranpur	Manglaur	<u>Ibid.</u> , 525.

#### GAURS

1.	Awadh	Khairabād	Chhitopur	<u>Āin</u> , II, 437.
2.	Delhi	Sambhal	Champala	<u>Ibid.</u> , 522.
3.	,,	,,	Shāhī	<u>Ibid.</u> , 523.
4.	,,	,,	Lakhnez	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	,,	,,	Neodhana	<u>Ibid.</u>

SOLANKIS

1.	Mālwa	Rāisīn	Rāisīn	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 438.
2.	Gujarāt	Ahmadabād	Ahmadnagar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 493.

SODAS

1.	Sind	A large tract in the <u>sarkāra</u> of Bhakkar and Nasarpur was held by them.	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 557.
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JHĀLAS

1.	Gujarāt	Saurashtra	Viramgāon	<u>Aīn</u> , II, 487.
2.	"	"	Halvad	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	"	"	Wadhwan	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	"	"	Keha	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	"	"	Daran Gadra	<u>Ibid.</u>
6.	"	"	Bijana	<u>Ibid.</u>
7.	"	"	Patri	<u>Ibid.</u>
8.	"	"	Sahala	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	"	"	Baroda	<u>Ibid.</u>
10.	"	"	Jhinghwāra	<u>Ibid.</u>
11.	"	"	Samjan	<u>Ibid.</u>
12.	"	"	Dhulhār	<u>Ibid.</u>
13.	"	"	Mandal	<u>Ibid.</u>

UJJAINYAS

1.	Mālwa	Ujjain	Ujjain	<u>AIn.</u> , II, 457.
2.	"	"	Unhel	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	"	"	Panbihār	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	"	"	Dipālpur	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	Bihār	Rohtās	Uchma	<u>Both Raj</u> , 'The accounts of Ujjainyas in Bihar', <u>Journal of Bihar Research Society</u> , XLVIII, 20xxxi 1961, 425-40.
6.	"	"	Bihiya	
7.	"	"	Shejpur	
8.	"	"	Arra	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	"	"	Pires	<u>Ibid.</u>
10.	"	"	Nāner	<u>Ibid.</u>
11.	"	"	Panwār	<u>Ibid.</u>
12.	"	"	Danwār	<u>Ibid.</u>
13.	"	"	Diāna	<u>Ibid.</u>
14.	"	"	Baragāon	<u>Ibid.</u>
15.	"	"	Jagdispur	<u>Ibid.</u>

MANHAS

1.	Lāhore	Rechnau Doāb	Bālet	<u>AIn.</u> , II, 544.
2.	"	"	Bhadrāon	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	"	"	Ban	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	"	"	Jammu	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	"	"	Jasrona	<u>Ibid.</u> , 545.
6.	"	"	Manket	<u>Ibid.</u> , 546.
7.	"	Chenahat Doāb	Akhandu	<u>Ibid.</u>
8.	"	"	Ambaran	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	"	"	Mangh	<u>Ibid.</u> , 547.

KATOCH

1.	Lāhore	Bari Doab	Guler	<u>A.I.B.</u> , II, 543.
2.	..	..	Nagarkot	Hutchinson, I, 134-35.

SURAJBANSI

1.	Lāhore	Rochnāu Doab	Rīlu	Hutchinson, I, 298.
2.	..	..	Chāri	<u>Ibid.</u>
3.	..	..	Ghāreh	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	..	..	Chamba	<u>Ibid.</u>

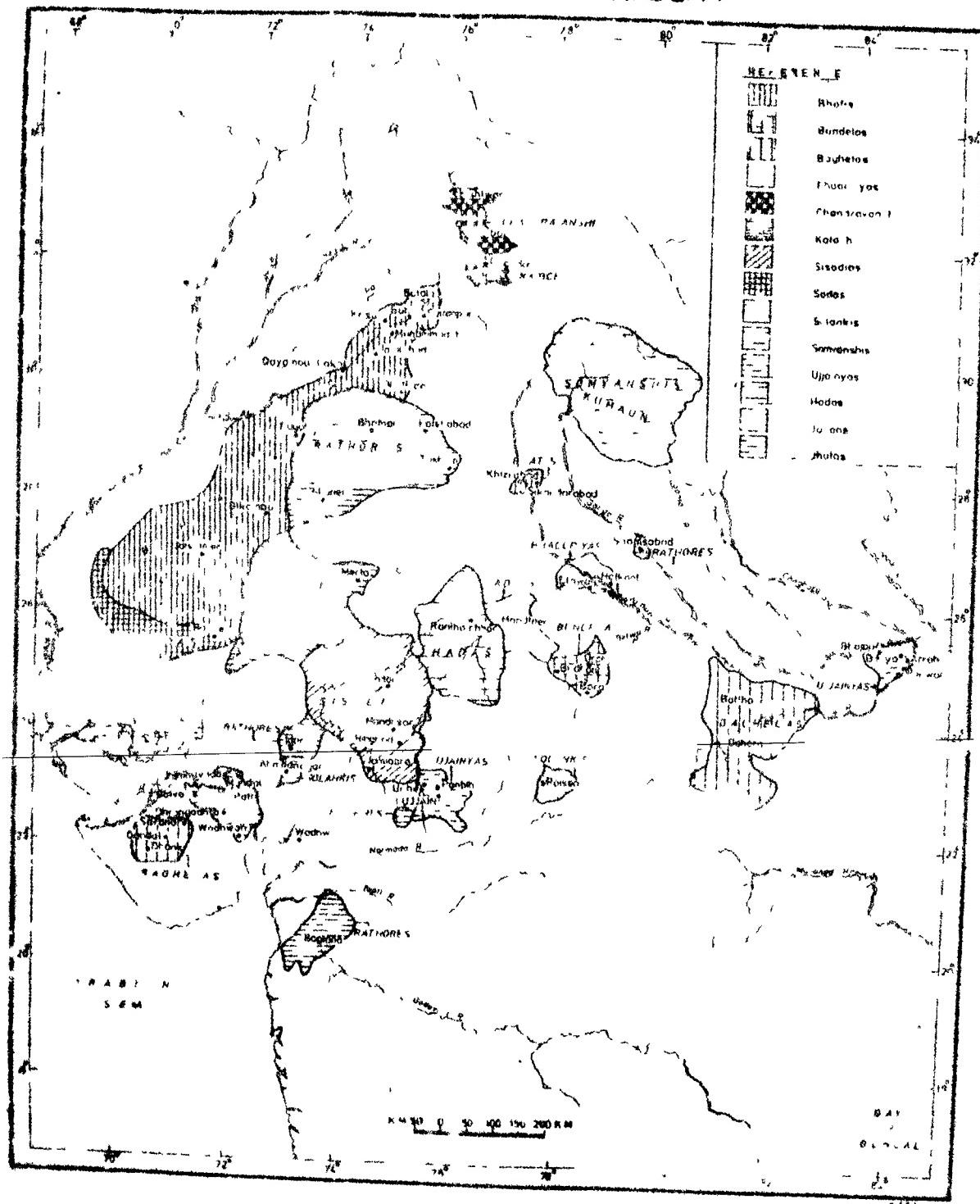
SENA CHANDRABANSI

1.	Kābul	-	Valley Kishtawār	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 835; Hutchinson, II, 640.
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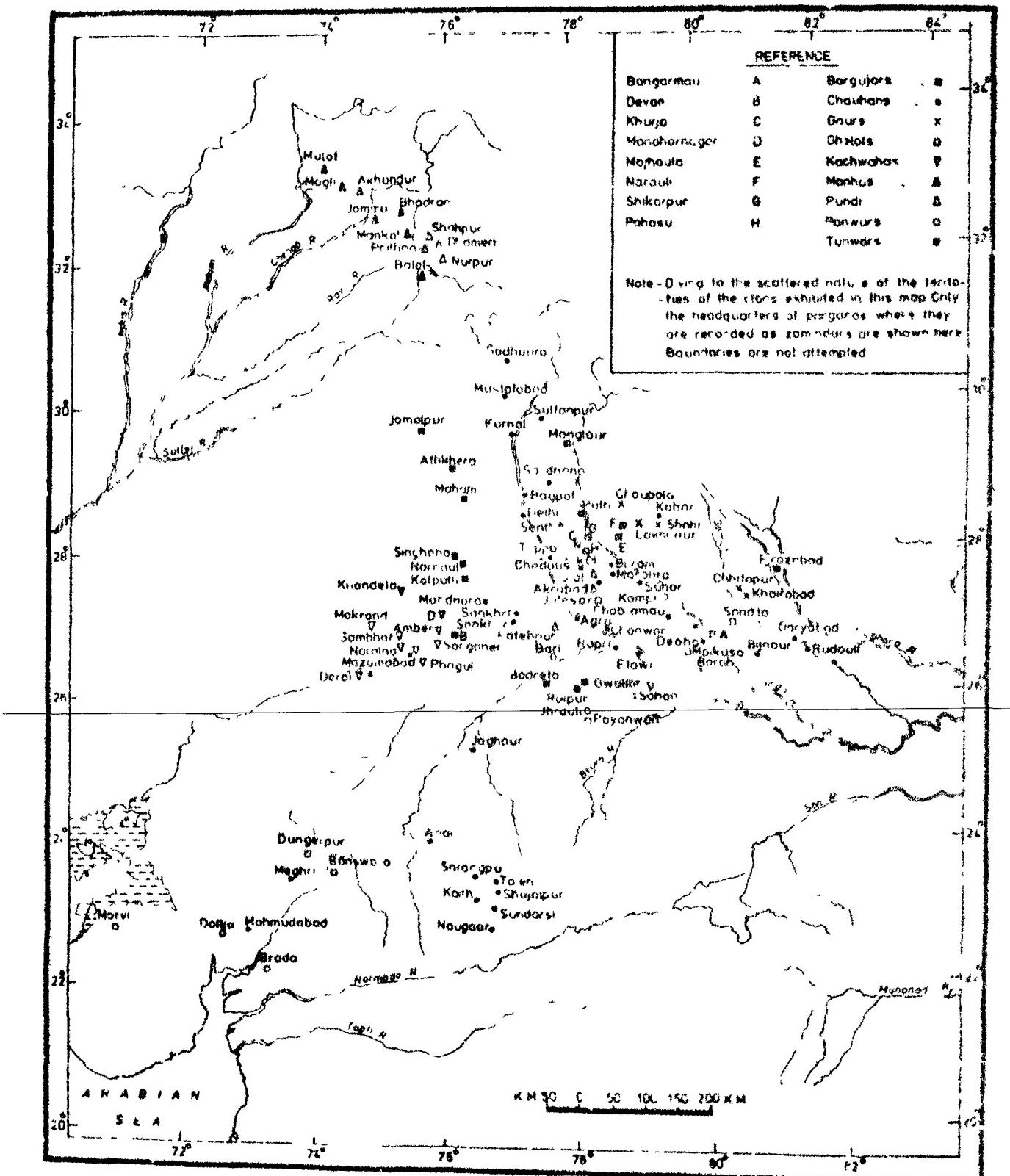
SOMBANSIS

1.	Delhi	A large tract extending from Tibet to Sambhal was controlled by Sombanals		Ferishta, II, 420.
2.	Lāhore	Bari Doab	Kāngra	<u>A.I.B.</u> , II, 543.
3.	..	..	Baswah	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	..	..	Chat Wāhīla	<u>Ibid.</u> , 542.

TERRITORIES OF RĀJPUT ZAMĪNDĀR CLANS-No1,1595 A D  
(Based on the Āīn-i-Akbarī)



**TERRITORIES OF RĀJPUT ZAMINDĀR CLANS-No-2,1595AD**  
**( Based on the Āin-i-Akbarī )**



## Chapter II

### JAHĀNGĪR AND RĀJPUT CHIEFS

The position of the Rājput nobles under Jahāngīr is a much debated question. S.R. Sharma was first to say that the position of the 'Hindus' in the Mughal service was threatened after Jahāngīr's accession 'by the events connected with Khurasau's rebellion'. In this connection, he cited the cases of Mān Singh who came under suspicion and of Rāi Rāi Singh who had actually rebelled.<sup>1</sup> By comparing the total of xāt mangabs and offices held by the Rājput nobles towards the end of Akbar's reign with those of the early years of Jahāngīr's reign, Rafiqat Ali Khan even suggests that Jahāngīr had reversed Akbar's Rājput policy depriving Rājputs of high positions in the nobility as well as the administration. He has also cited a letter of 'Azīz Kaka, addressed to Jahāngīr in which it was alleged that as a consequence of Jahāngīr's policy of favouring Irānis and Indian Muslims, the position of the Turāni and Rājput nobles was adversely affected.<sup>2</sup> This thesis has been re-examined by Athar Ali on the basis of the evidence relating to the

- 
1. The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, pp.70-71.
  2. The Kachchawahas under Akbar and Jahangir, p.196.

position of the Rājput nobles at different points of time during Jahāngīr's reign to indicate two distinct phases of Jahāngīr's Rājput policy: (a) First eight years of Jahāngīr's reign when the position of the Rājputs suffered a set-back and (b) last 13 years of Jahāngīr's reign when certain Rājput nobles favoured by the king were promoted to high mangabs. According to him, by 1621, the Rājputs seem to have recovered the ground they had lost on account of Jahāngīr's distrust of some of Rājput clans during the first few years after his accession.<sup>1</sup> As against this thesis, in a recent study, Afzal Husain holds that the position of the Rājput nobles as a whole did not suffer at all under Jahāngīr. Only the members of the house of Āmber were isolated from the court. Commenting on 'Azīz Koka's letter, Afzal Husain says that actually, when 'Azīz Koka states that the position of the Rājputs was undermined, he apparently has in his mind the isolation of the house of Āmber.<sup>2</sup>

The above summary of the contending views of the modern historians about the position of the Rājput nobles under Jahāngīr underlines the need of a more detailed examination of the existing evidence on this problem. It would perhaps enable

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1. Athar Ali, 'Professional Advancement of the Mughal Nobility', paper presented at the Annual Session of American Association of Asian Studies, 1979.
  2. 'The Emperor's Relations with the Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir', PIHC, 1977, cyclestyled copy is available in the Department of History, Aligarh.

one to arrive at a more balanced conclusion if the total of the mansabs held by the Rājput nobles as well as by the individual clans comprising the groups at different points of time during Jahāngīr's reign is worked out. This information combined with the evidence relating to the bestowal of titles and offices on individual Rājput noble from time to time might give some idea of the nature of the changes that came in their position as a group and also the circumstances which underscored these changes. In this study, however, it should be our attempt to explain the changing fortunes of the entire Rājput group as well as the individual clans comprising it in the background of the major political developments.

For the purpose of this kind of analysis one could divide the reign of Jahāngīr into three phases corresponding roughly to the main phases of the history of the court politics under him, namely (a) from 1605 to 1612, (b) 1612 to 1621, (c) 1621 to 1627. The phase (a) was the period preceding Jahāngīr's marriage to Nūr Jahān when he was systematically promoting a new set of nobles to create a counter weight within the nobility against the highly placed nobles of Akbar's time, many of whom had opposed his accession and were suspected of/sympathising with Khusrav during his rebellion in 1606.<sup>1</sup> The phase (b) covers the

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1. S. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Political Role of Kachawaha Nobles during Jahangir's Reign', PIHC, 1975, pp.180-89.

period of ten years when following Jahāngīr's marriage with Nūr Jahan in 1611, the members of I'timāduddaula's family received rapid promotions which resulted in strengthening the position of the Irānī nobles at Court.<sup>1</sup> This situation was interpreted by Azīz Kokā, a contemporary Tūrānī noble of high standing, as the outcome of Jahāngīr's deliberate policy of preferring Irānīs and Indian Muslims over the Rājputs and Tūrānīs.<sup>2</sup> Besides I'timāduddaula's family, several other non-Tūrānī clans among whom Irānīs were more conspicuous, improved their position. The family members of Mahābat Khān, Khān-i Jahān Lodi and 'Abdullah Khān Firoz Jang were also given bold promotions during this period.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the fortunes of the family of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī a clan of Indian Shaikh-zādās who had risen to prominence during the phase 'a' dwindled.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Beni Prasad, A History of Jahangir, pp.159-72; Nurul Hasan, 'The Theory of Nur Jahan "Junta"', PIHC, 1958, pp.324-35; Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign, a Political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, p.95.
  2. Maktubat-i Khān-i Jahān Muzaffer Khān wa Qwaliernama Waghaira, MS. ff.19a-b; Hawkins, Early Travels in India, pp.106-7.
  3. Mahābat Khān and his son Amanullah Khān enjoyed the mansabs of 6000/6000 and 3000/1000 (Ma'sir-i Jahāngīrī, ff.156a&b; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, 347-48), Khān-i Jahān Lodi, Shahbāz Khān Lodi and Asalat Khan held the mansabs of 6000/6000, 2000/1000 and 2000/1000 respectively. (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, 147, 184, 352). 'Abdullah Khān Firoz Jang and his brother Sarār Khān held the mansabs of 6000/6000 and 3000/2500. (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, 334-36; 198-39, 344; Iqbālnama-i Jahāngīrī, p.186). See also Afzal Husain's unpublished thesis The Role of Family Groups of Nobles in Mughal Politics, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
  4. In 1612, the members of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī held the total mansabs of 14,200/12,450. By 1622, the total of their mansabs was reduced to 9000/3,500. See, Afzal Husain, 'The Family of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī during the Reign of Jahangir', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. II, p.63.

In the phase 'c', even after a rift had occurred between Khurram and Nūr Jahān the trend of improvement in the position of the members of Itimāduddaulā's family was not interrupted.<sup>1</sup> It was during this period that Khurram's revolt (1622-23) and the Mahābat Khān's ~~sawāk~~ coup d'e'tat (1626) took place. Apparently, these revolts contributed to strengthening Nūr Jahān's hold over Jahāngīr which she continued to use to secure high promotions for her protégés, many of whom happened to be the members of Itimāduddaulā's family.

It would be fruitful to ascertain as to in what manner the position of the Rājput nobles was affected by the twists and turns of the factional alignments at Jahāngīr's court during these three phases. For this purpose, we have prepared the lists of the mansabs held by the Rājput nobles in 1605 and 1611-12. In each of these lists we have included all those Rājput nobles who are mentioned as being in the active service in the year to which it relates. In these lists, however, only zāt mansabs are taken into account. The information regarding suwār ranks of the nobles is incomplete for the years 1605 and 1611-12,<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign, a Political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 79.

2. In Abūl Fazl and Nizāmuddīn Ḥamad's lists of mansabārā, which were comprised in 1595, only the zāt rank is mentioned, but not the suwār rank. In a recent study, it has been established that the suwār rank came into being around 1595-96. Even though in so many cases, the suwār rank is not mentioned. See, Shiraz Moezvi, 'Evolution of Mansab System under Akbar till 1595-96', IHC, Hyderabad, 1978.

and therefore, it cannot be used in an analysis aiming at working out the comparative significance of the various clans in terms of their status in the military hierarchy of the Mughal Empire. In any case, inadequacy of information on sywar ranks of the nobles should not totally hamper an analysis of this nature. As in the Mughal hierarchy the status of a noble was determined basically by his zat mansab.<sup>1</sup> A comparative study of the zat mansab held by the different clans should be considered a sufficient basis for working out their changing fortunes during the period under review. The information furnished in the above lists is given in a tabular form for the purpose of the present discussion. We have prepared two tables 'A' and 'B' in which the comparative strength and position of the individual clan in terms of their numerical strength and the total zat mansabs held by them in the Mughal service between 1605 and 1611, and 1611 and 1621 is represented.

From the table 'A', it would appear that between 1605 and 1612, the over all position of the Rajput nobles when judged in terms of the numerical strength, registered a decline. Their total strength came down from 31 to 26, while on the other hand, the total of zat mansabs held by them was pushed up from 58,300 to 66,200.<sup>2</sup> The slight decline in the over all strength of the

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\* 1. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.39.

2. See, Table 'A'.

Rājput nobles indicated in our table cannot be taken as suggesting a deliberate policy of reducing the strength of the Rājputs with the Mughal service. If one takes into account the newly recruited Bundila Chief, Bir Singh Deo,<sup>1</sup> who is counted in our table among the 26 nobles serving during this period, then the net fall in the strength of the Rājput nobles would come up to 5. Among these five nobles who disappeared from the service during 1605-12 without any one from their clans being appointed in their place were Salhadi, Sakat Singh Kachawaha,<sup>2</sup> Rai Rai Singh Rātnor,<sup>3</sup> Mukut Mān Bhaduriya,<sup>4</sup> Bikramajīt Baghela<sup>5</sup> and Kishan Singh Tunwar.<sup>6</sup> The picture that emerges from this break-up does suggest a policy of putting a limit on the recruitment of new nobles from the clans who had perhaps become suspects in Jahāngīr's eyes as a result of their role in the controversy over succession. But this cannot certainly be confused with an over all policy of discouraging the recruitment of Rājputs in the service. Fresh recruitment or replacement of

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.10.

2. Op. cit.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.106.

4. Op. cit.

5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.85.

6. Pathal Pothā-re-Khyāt, pages are not mentioned,

deceased chiefs by their heirs belonging to Bundila, Kachawaha, Hāda and Chandrawat clans,<sup>1</sup> during the same period is an example indicating that during this period Jahāngīr was not averse to taking all those Rājput nobles in the service who were willing to collaborate with the Mughals and whose devotion and loyalty to his own person, he did not have any doubts or misgivings.

This policy of Jahāngīr is borne out more clearly by the break up of the total zat mansabs held by different clans in 1605 and 1611-12. Firstly, one finds that a number of Rājput nobles holding minor positions in 1605 were given rapid promotions during the subsequent six years. The chiefs who received such promotions belonged to the Pundīr, Bundila, Hāda and Sisodia clans. For instance, Rāja Bāso was raised from 700 to 3500 zat.<sup>2</sup> The rapid promotion of Rāja Bāso is significant. It may be explained in the light of the Rāja's collaboration with Jahāngīr in 1602, when the latter had rebelled against his father Akbar.<sup>3</sup> Rām Chandra Bundila was promoted from 500 to 1000 zat.<sup>4</sup> Sagar Sisodia was promoted from 200 to 3000 zat.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Op. cit.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.23.

3. As last, The Empire of Great Mogul, p.169.

4. Mānūr-i-rā-purāna-pe-Vigat, II, p.492.

5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.54; Tazkirat-ul-Umarā, MS. f.141. In the Rāna Rāma, his mansab is mentioned as 5000 zat. But Somoni says that it is an exaggeration. History of Mughals, 246.

The mansab of Tunwar chief Shyām Singh was increased from 1000 to 1500 zat.<sup>1</sup> In June 1607, after the death of Rāī Bhoj Hādā who held the mansab of 1000 zat,<sup>2</sup> his son Ratan Singh was elevated to the higher position of 2000/1500 with the title of Sarbuland Rāy.<sup>3</sup> Jahangir also felicitated Rāo Ratan to assign pargana Mau in inām (an assignment without obligation).<sup>4</sup>

Among the fresh recruited nobles of this period the most conspicuous case was that of Bir Singh Deo Bundila. He was defying the imperial authority during the last three years of Akbar's reign, but was taken into the service in 1606, getting the mansab of 5000/2000.<sup>5</sup> Further, after Jahāngīr's accession, when Bir Singh's elder brother Rām Chandra rebelled,<sup>6</sup> he was deprived of his watan jaqīq Orcha and conferred upon Bir Singh Deo.<sup>7</sup> But when in 1607, Rām Chandra submitted, Jahāngīr to ensure his loyalty and support, married his daughter in 1609.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.37; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.141.
  2. Tabaqat-i Akbarī, II, p.455; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.481; Suzya Mal Mirza, a court historian of Bundi writing his treatises on the rulers of Bundi exaggerates to say that Bhoj held the mansab of 5000 zat. Vams Bhaskar, III, p.2290.
  3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.66, 147.
  4. Muhtas Nainsi-re-Khyāt, /p.256.
  5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.100.
  6. Ibid., pp.41-42.
  7. Mā'āfir-ul Umarā, II, pp.142-43.
  8. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.77.

Moreover, it was apparently with an aim to keep a check on the ambitions of his favourite Bir Singh Deo that Jahāngīr was anxious not only to retain in the service Bir Singh's brother and his adversary, Rām Chandra but also solaced him by marrying his daughter.

But on the other hand, the mansabs of the chiefs belonging to Chandrāwat, Baghela clans declined for one or another reason. In 1608, after the death of Durga Chandrāwat who held the mansab of 4000 zāt,<sup>1</sup> his successor Chāndu Singh was assigned the mansab of 700 zāt only.<sup>2</sup> The total mansabs of the Baghela chiefs declined marginally from 2100 zāt to 2000 zāt. In 1610, Rāja Bikramajit Baghela who held the mansab of 100 zāt rebelled<sup>3</sup> and was deprived of his mansab which caused a marginal fall in the total mansabs of the Baghelas. The mansab of another Baghela chief was, however, not disturbed. Rām Deo Baghela continued on his mansab of 2000 zāt.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Rāja Mukut Man Bhaduriya continued on his mansab of 2000 zāt.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.63-64.

2. Ma'ārif-ul Umarā', II, pp.212-13.

3. Mārwār-rā-Pargana-rā-Vigat, II, pp.491-93; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.89.

4. Ain-i Akbarī, I, p.161; Mārwār-rā-Pargana-rā-Vigat, II, 490.

5. Akbarnāma, III, p.834; Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣīn, I, p.234+

Another interesting feature indicated by Table 'A' is the obvious improvement in the position of Kachawāha and Rāthor clans during 1605-12. The total mansabs of the Kachawāhas increased from 29,700 to 30,500 zāt, while those of Rāthors including the chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikāner, Merta and Baglāna went up from 10,300 to 12,500 zāt.<sup>1</sup> But in both these cases the increase in total mansabs is the result of marked rise in the mansabs of the favoured groups or the individuals. A close scrutiny of the changes that came in the position of the individual sub-clans of these two clans would show that side by side with the rise in the mansabs of favoured sub-clans there was a simultaneous fall in the mansabs of the sub-clans that had come to be suspected of having sympathies for Khusrav.

The table indicates that in the Kachawāha clan, the non-Rājewat nobles, who favoured Jahāngīr's candidature for the throne in 1605, were rewarded. The total mansabs of the non-Rājewat nobles almost doubled from 5,400 to 11,000 zāt.<sup>2</sup> The mansabs of the two Shaikhawat nobles Rāisal Darbārī and Rāi Manchar were enhanced from 3000 zāt, 400 zāt to 5000<sup>3</sup> and 1000 zāt.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See, Table 'A'.

2. Ibid.

3. Shikhar Vangatpati, p.21.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, pp.54, 112.

Similarly, Rām Dās Udāwat was promoted from 2000 to 5000 zat.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this the title of Rāja and Rāja Karan were also bestowed upon Rāisāl Darbārī<sup>2</sup> and Rām Dās Udāwat<sup>3</sup> respectively. This becomes particularly conspicuous when viewed in the light of the fact that the title of Farzand held by Mān Singh<sup>4</sup> was not conferred upon his successor following his death.<sup>5</sup> The mansabs of the members of Rājāwat clan who opposed Jahāngir's candidature appear to have declined marginally from 24,300 to 19,500 zat.<sup>6</sup> Partly this fall in their mansabs was the result of Jagannāth's death whose successor was given a comparatively lower mansab.<sup>7</sup> In the case of two of the Rājāwat nobles Sakat Singh and Salhadi who held the mansabs of 1600 zat<sup>8</sup> and 700 zat,<sup>9</sup> is not known anything after 1605. These cases together go

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1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, p.240; Hawkins, Early Travels in India, p.98.

2. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, p.110.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, p.98; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, p.240; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.156.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.166.

5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, p.130.

6. See, Appendix 'A'.

7. In 1609, after the death of Jagannāth who held the mansab of 5000/3000, his son Karam Chand was given the mansab of 2000/1500. See, Akbarnāma, III, pp.786, 89; Ishqīlnāma-i-Jahāngiri, p.474; Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, p.74; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, p.316. For the date of his death, see Vīr Vīrad, p.225.

8. Akbarnāma, III, p.835.

9. Ibid., 837; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, p.149.

contributing to the marginal fall in the mansasa of the Rājāwats indicated by Table 'A'. But this cannot be interpreted as an attempt on Jahāngīr's part to discard Rājāwats and to push them to a subordinate position to non-Rājāwat sub-clans. On the other hand, withholding the promotions temporarily which were bound to undermine their position within the Kachawāha clan, Jahāngīr continued to prefer the Rājāwat ruling family for the purpose of matrimonial ties. His first Kachawāha wife, a daughter of Bhagvān Dās died in 1605.<sup>1</sup> In 1608, he asked for the hand of one of Mān Singh's grand daughters (a daughter of Jagat Singh). Mān Singh promptly agreed to this proposal and gave his grand daughter in marriage to Jahāngīr,<sup>2</sup> although it was in total disregard of Hindū customary rule prohibiting marriage between a widower and a niece or grand daughter of his deceased wife.

Although, as we have already noticed, the total mansasa of the nobles belonging to the ruling family of Bikaner declined, the increase in the total mansasa of the Rāethors was mainly owing to promotions received by the Rāethors of Jodhpur whose mansasa increased from 3000 to 5,500 zāt.<sup>3</sup> The details of these

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1. Akbarnāma, III, p.826; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.26.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.68.

3. See, Table 'A'.

promotions are as follows: In 1608, the mansabs of Suraj Singh and Kishan Singh were increased from 2000/2000 to 3000/2000<sup>1</sup> and 1000/500 to 2000/1500<sup>2</sup> respectively. Sabal Singh continued on his mansab of 500 zat.<sup>3</sup> Another Rāthor chief who received promotion was Kesho Dās Māru of Merta. He was raised from 300 zat to 1500/1500.<sup>4</sup> As against this, one notices a sharp fall in the mansabs of the two Rāthor nobles of Bikāner. Initially, Jahāngīr had promoted Rāi Rāi Singh from 4000 to 5000 zat.<sup>5</sup> But on his death in 1612, his son Dalpat was given a comparatively lower mansab of 1500/500.<sup>6</sup> One might guess that in giving comparatively lower mansab to Rāi Rāi Singh's successor, Jahāngīr was partly influenced by his suspicion that the chief of Bikāner had sympathised with Khusrav in 1606.<sup>7</sup> Another Rāthor, Pratāp of Baglāna, also did not receive any increment after Jahāngīr's accession and his mansab remained static at 3000 zat.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.73.

2. Ibid., p.72.

3. Mārwār-re-Pargana-rē-Vigat, II, p.492; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.277; Tazkirat-ul Umarā; MS. f.153.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.9, 37.

5. Ibid., p.23.

6. Ibid., pp.111-12.

7. Ibid., pp.41-42; Jahāngīr's farman to Rāi Rai Singh, dated Nov. 1607, RSA Bikāner.

8. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.196.

Thus it could be seen that during this period in respect of the mangabs, the Rājputs as a group improved their position. Jahāngīr, particularly showed favour to a particular set of the Rājput nobles who had supported his claim to the throne from the beginning. Those who had opposed him were not given further promotions down to 1612.

However, in respect of offices, the Rājput nobles as a whole suffered heavily. After Mān Singh's removal from the governorship of Bengal in 1606,<sup>1</sup> none of the Rājput chiefs is known to have been appointed by Jahāngīr as a governor of a sūba. In contrast to this, during Akbar's reign, on one occasion (1586-87) as much as six Rājput nobles were simultaneously holding the charges of four contiguous sūbas. Bhagwant Dās and Rāi Rāi Singh Rāthor were the governors of sūba Lāhore.<sup>2</sup> While Mān Singh and Āskaran Kachawāha were the governors of Kābul and Āgra<sup>3</sup> respectively, Jagannāth and Rāi Durga Chandrāwat were the governors of sūba Ajmer.<sup>4</sup> Further, in 1592,

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.7; Riāz-us-Salātīn, p.170; R.P. Tripathi incorrectly says that Mān Singh was transferred from Bengal to Bihār (Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp.367-68). Actually, at this time, Jahāngīr Qulī Khan was the governor of Bihār. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.101.
  2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.511, 518; Iabaqat-i Akbarī, II, p.368.
  3. Akbarnāma, III, p.518; Mā'āsir-ul Umarā', II, pp.162-63.
  4. Akbarnāma, III, pp.511, 518.

Udai Singh Rāthor (Mota Rāja) along with Qulīj Khān was assigned the charge of sūba Lāhore.<sup>1</sup> Besides governorships, the Rājput nobles also lost several other important offices which they failed to regain till the end of Jahāngīr's reign. Under Akbar, three important forts, Rohtās, Ranthambhor and Gwālīor were held by the Rājput nobles Mān Singh,<sup>2</sup> Jagannāth<sup>3</sup> and Rāj Singh<sup>4</sup> respectively down to 1605. But soon after Jahāngīr's accession all these nobles were removed from the positions they were holding under Akbar. In 1608, when Mān Singh was sent to Deccan, Rohtās had been taken away from his charge.<sup>5</sup> After Jagannāth's death in 1609, Ranthambhor was assigned to Rām Dās Udāwat,<sup>6</sup> but he died in 1613. Subsequently, down to the end of Jahāngīr's reign, none of the Rājput nobles is known to have held the charge of this fort. It was apparently in pursuance of the same policy that in 1614 Rāj Singh was replaced by Shaikh Moda as the commander of Gwālīor fort.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Iabqāt-i Akbarī, II, p.638.
  2. Akbarnāma, tr. III, p.1251, f.n.1; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.65.
  3. Akbarnāma, III, p.825; Muhta Nainsī-re-Khyāt, I, p.301.
  4. Akbarnāma, III, pp.764, 825; Tarīkh-i Gwālīor, MS. f.22a.
  5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.74.
  6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.98; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, I, p.271; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, p.271.
  7. Maktubat-i-Khān-i Jahān Muzaffar Khān-wa-Gwālīornāma, MS. f.159b; Tarīkh-i Gwālīor, MS. f.23; Shaikh Moda was brother of Muazzam Khān Shaikh Bāyzāid, the grandson of Shaikh Salim of Fatehpur.

II

The Table 'B' indicates that between 1612 and 1621, the numerical strength of Rājput nobles increased from 26 to 29, while on the other hand in term of total mansabs held by them the position of the Rājputs declined. Their total mansabs during this period fell from 66,200 to 60,900 zat.<sup>1</sup> As it is shown by a perusal of this table, the increase in absolute strength of the Rājput nobles was the result of fresh recruitments of 9 nobles belonging to the clans of Hāda (1), Sisodia (3), Bhadūriya (1), Katoch (1) and Rāthor (2) clans. At the same time successors of 6 nobles (including 2 Kachawāhas and one each belonging to Baghela, Bhadūriya, Dhandhera and Tunwar clans) who died during this period, were not taken into service. The total of the mansabs of the nobles who died during this phase (13,000 zat) was larger than that of the new recruits (8,000 zat).<sup>2</sup> This resulted in the marginal fall in the total mansabs of the Rājput nobles.

In the case of the Kachawāha and Rāthor clans, Jahāngīr appears to have continued the policy that he had adopted in the beginning of his reign which led to a marginal decline in the

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1. See, Table 'B'.

2. Supra.

position of the Kachawāha clan and enabled the Rāthors other than those of Bikāner to improve their position. During the period 1612-21, the number of the Kachawāha chiefs in the Mughal service further declined from 9 to 7. On the other hand, the number of the Rāthor nobles increased from 6 to 8.<sup>1</sup>

A scrutiny of the mansabs held by nobles belonging to different Rājput clans between 1612 and 1621, Jahāngīr by and large followed a policy that adversely affected the position of the clans already in the service. While on the other hand, a number of new clans were recruited in the service for the first time under Jahāngīr which did not allow the position of the Rājputs as such to suffer a sizable decline in total mansabs. The following cases of fresh recruitments accounting for this situation deserve to be mentioned. The fresh recruits Anūp Singh Badgujar, Rāja Sangram and Dabbi Chand, who were taken in the service, were assigned the mansaba of 2000/1600,<sup>2</sup> 1500/1000<sup>3</sup> and 1500/500<sup>4</sup> respectively. Among these newly recruited nobles, the most favourite was Badgujar chief Anūp Singh who had saved Jahāngīr from a furious tiger.<sup>5</sup> In addition to mansab, he was

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1. See Table 'B'.

2. Tuzuk-i JahāngīrI, p.266.

3. Ibid., p.314.

4. Ibid., p.304.

5. Ibid., pp.89-90; Pelssert, Jahāngīr's India, pp.52-3.

granted a pargana Anūp Shahr in the sarkār of Kol as watan and was also given the title of Anī Rāi Singh Dalān.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he came to be trusted by Jahāngīr so much that he was appointed by the King as the qilādar of Gwālior fort and Prince Khusrau was put in that fort under his custody.<sup>2</sup>

One of the ways in which Jahāngīr contributed to the decline in the strength of the clans continuing in the Mughal service since Akbar's time was that he did not enrol as mansab-dārs the successors of many of the ordinary Rājput nobles, not belonging to the ruling families of Āmber, Sodhpur, Bundi, Bikāner and Jaisalmer. It is illustrated by the following examples: After the deaths of three senior nobles Rām Deo Baghela (d. 1618 AD), Rāja Jagman Dhanchera (c. 1613 AD) and Shyām Singh Tunwar (d. 1617 AD), who held the mansabs of 2000 zāt,<sup>3</sup> 1,000 zāt<sup>4</sup> and 1500 zāt<sup>5</sup> respectively, none of their successors are known to have been assigned mansabs. About

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1. See Chapter <sup>IV</sup> on Watan Jagir.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, pp.273, 308.

3. Aīn-i Akbarī, I, p.161; Vīr Vinod, 556.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.832; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīr, p.504; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, p.118.

5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, p.37; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, p.141.

Mukut Man Bhadūriya who held the mansab of 2000<sup>1</sup> in 1612, nothing is known while his successor Bikramajit Bhadūriya seems to be in the imperial service but one does not know about his mansab. In 1614, Bikramajit was sent with Prince Khurram against Rāna Amar Singh of Mewār. However, Bikramajit died in 1617 AD.<sup>2</sup> Another cause of decline noticeable in the position of the entrenched clans was the policy of giving to begin with a lower mansab to the successor of a chief which would, apparently, conformed to the income of the watan inherited by him.<sup>3</sup> The following cases of this nature can be cited : (a) In 1614, after the death of Rāja Bāso Pundīr, chief of Mau who held the mansab of 3500 zāt, his successor Suraj Mal was given the lower mansab of 2000/2000 with the title of Rāja.<sup>4</sup> In 1618, Suraj Mal revolted and was replaced by his younger brother Jagat Singh who was granted the mansab of only 1000/500;<sup>5</sup> (b) In 1616, death occurred of Rāwāl Bhīm Bhāti who held the mansab of 3000 zāt. His successor, Kalyān Singh was assigned the mansab of 2000/1000.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāñin, I, p.234.
  2. Lāhorī, Bādehāhnāma, I, p.166; Zakhīrat-ul Khawāñin, MS. f.108a; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.192.
  3. M. Athar Ali, 'Professional Advancement of the Mughal Nobility' paper presented at the Annual Session of American Association of Asian Studies, 1979.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.166, 254.
  5. Ibid., p.264. Shaikh Farīd Bhakkari says that he was given the mansab of 1000/1000. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāñin, II, p.387.
  6. Bhātināma, cited in the Vīr Vīṇod, II, p.1763; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.159, 163.

Further, Jahāngīr seems to have followed a policy of showing special favour to those Rājput chiefs who either held lesser positions since Akbar's reign or were taken into service only after Jahāngīr's accession. Among the Hādas, for example, another member of the ruling family of Bundī, Hirday Narain was taken ~~in~~ in the service with the mansab of 1200/600.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the mansabs of the Bundila chiefs rose to 3600/5400<sup>2</sup> which are accounted for by the increase in mansab of newly recruited Bir Singh Bundila. Bir Singh was the first Bundila chief who reached the status of 5000/5000.<sup>3</sup> He was also felicitated with the title of Mahārāja<sup>4</sup> and was assigned a large territory in jāgīr in the central India.<sup>5</sup> This would have given him effective control over the route which led to the Deccan. But at the same time, the mansab of Bir Singh's rival among Bundilas declined. In 1618, after the death of Rām Chandra Bundila who held the mansab of 1000 zāt, his successor Bhārat was given the lower mansab of 600/400.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.322; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS., f.158.

2. See Table 'B'.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.306; Zakhirat-ul Khawāṣṣ, II, p.364.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.306.

5. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, pp.127-28. K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility - The Bundila Case', PIHC, 1977.

6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.271.

During this period, the mansabs of the Sisodias rose up vertically. In 1615, after taking up the Mughal service by Rāna Amar Singh of Mewār, their mansabs increased from 3000/1000 to 14000/8200.<sup>1</sup> Rāna Amar Singh was assigned the mansab of 5000/1000.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the Sisodia chief, Jahāngīr had made many exceptions in the Mughal policy towards the Rājputs. Amar Singh was exempted from rendering military service personally. He was allowed to depute his heir-apparent with 1000 horsemen to serve under Jahāngīr.<sup>3</sup> Besides, two more members of the Sisodia ruling family, Kunwar Karan and Shyām Singh were taken into service with the mansabs of 5000/5000<sup>4</sup> and 2500/1400<sup>5</sup> respectively. But in 1618, after the death of Sagar Sisodia, who held the mansab of 3000/2000, his son Mān Singh was assigned the lower rank of 1500/800,<sup>6</sup> while Chandra Singh Chandrāwat of Rāmpura continued in his mansab of 700 zat.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
  2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.29; Amar Singh died in 1619 AD.
  3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, pp.273-77; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.30; Vīr Vīnād, II, pp.237-38.
  4. Jahāngīr's farman to Karan, reproduced in Vīr Vīnād, II, 240-49; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.203-4.
  5. Ibid., p.138.
  6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, p.310; Tazkīrat-ul Umarā, MS. f.157.
  7. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.147-48.

Rāwat Megh Singh on account of his personal grudge against Rāna Amar Singh joined the Mughal service with the mansab of 400/200.<sup>1</sup> He was deputed with Rāja Vikramajit to put down the rebels in Kāngara. Rāwat Megh Singh's son Narhar Dās was also granted the mansab of 80/20.<sup>2</sup> From Prince Khurram's nishān, dated 1027 AH/1618 AD, to Rāwat Megh Singh, it appears that the Rāwat failed to join Vikramajit in Kāngra. Consequently, Jahāngīr ordered to cease the mansab and jāgīr of the Rāwat. But on Kunwar Bhim's assurance to Prince Khurram for early arrival of the Rāwat his mansab and jāgīr were not ceased.<sup>3</sup> Rāwat Megh Singh seems to have been promoted to 500/250. Besides his brother whose name is not mentioned in Jahāngīr's farmān, was granted the mansab of 60/20.<sup>4</sup> Other three persons who were attached to the command of the Rāwat were Phul Dās, Hari Dās and Paras Rām. Each of them was given the mansab of 20 zat.<sup>5</sup> But Rāwat Megh Singh and others did not go to Kāngra; therefore, they were dispossessed from their mansabs and jāgīrs.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Shyāmal Dās has reproduced Jahāngīr's farmān to Rāwat Megh Singh. It is translated into Hindi. See, Vir Vinod, p.252.

2. Ibid.

3. For Prince Khurram's nishān to Rāwat Megh Singh, see, Vir Vinod, pp.253-64.

4. For Jahāngīr's farmān to Rāwat Megh Singh, see, Vir Vinod, pp.253-64.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

The total mansabs of the Kachawāha chiefs, in this period, fell from 30,500/13,500 to 13,200/6,450 while those of the Rāthor chiefs increased from 11,500/5,500 to 15,700/7,450.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that this fall in the mansabs is discernible in case of the Rajawat as well as non-Rājāwat nobles. The mansabs of the Rājāwats and non-Rājāwats came down from 19,500/11,500 to 11,500/5,100 and 11,000/10,800 to 1,300/1,200<sup>2</sup> respectively. For this it would appear that the fall in the mansabs of the Rājāwat nobles was only marginal; apparently the bulk of the reduction in the total mansabs of the clan was caused by the removal from the scene one prominent non-Rājāwat noble Rām Dās Udāwat. After Jahāngīr's accession Rām Dās Udāwat became his favourite and reached the status of panjhazāri mansabdār.<sup>3</sup> But his role in the expedition against Malik Ambar in 1611 annoyed Jahāngīr.<sup>4</sup> After his death in 1613, none of his successors is reported as having received a mansab. Moreover, on the death of two other senior non-Rājāwat nobles, their successors were given reduced mansabs. These nobles were Raisal Darbārī and Rāi Manohar who died between 1612 and 1621. While

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1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.

2. For the mansabs of the Rājāwat and non-Rājāwat nobles, see, List No. 'B' and 'C'.

3. Op. cit.

4. Ma'tāṣir-ul-Umara', II, pp.156-57.

Rāisāl Darbāri's son Girdhar Dās was given the mansab of 1200/900,<sup>1</sup> Prithvi Rāj, son of Rāi Manohar got the mansab of 700/450.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, marginal fall in the total mansabs of the Rājāwat nobles was caused by the deaths of Mān Singh (7000/7000), Maha Singh (4000/3000) and Rāj Singh (3500/3000). But their successors were taken into service with reduced mansabs which partly made up for the total fall caused by the deaths of the three senior Rājāwat nobles. By the end of 1621, their successors Bhāo Singh, Jai Singh and Rām Dās Narwari ~~had~~ had attained the mansabs as of 5000/3000,<sup>3</sup> 1000/1000<sup>4</sup> and 1500/700<sup>5</sup> respectively. Karam Chand continued on his mansab of 2000/1000.<sup>6</sup>

The increase in the mansabs of the Rāthor clan took place because of the fresh recruitments of 100 Rāthor nobles and the increases in the mansabs of senior Rāthor nobles already in the service from the beginning of the reign. Karam Sen Rāthor<sup>7</sup> was

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.332.
  2. Ibid., p.239; Tazkirat-ul Umara', MS. f.133.
  3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.184; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', III, p.361; Tazkirat-ul Umara', MS. f.133.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.192; According to Shāh Nawāz Khān, he held the mansab of 1000/500. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', III, p.568.
  5. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', II, p.172.
  6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.74; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', I, p.516; Tazkirat-ul Umara', MS. f.155.
  7. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.143.

taken in the service with the mansab of 1000/300.<sup>1</sup> The mansabs of the senior Rāthor nobles, Pratap of Baglāna, and Keshu Dās Nāru of Merta were enhanced from 3000 zat and 1500/1000 to 4000 zat<sup>2</sup> and 2000/1200.<sup>3</sup> Further, one notices that after Dalpat, the chief of Bikāner (m. 1500/1000), rebelled and was killed in 1614, his successor Suraj Singh attained the mansab of 2000/2000.<sup>4</sup> But in the case of Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur, one notices a marginal fall in the mansabs which came down from 5,500/3,725 to 5000/2,750.<sup>5</sup> This fall occurred because of the death of Kishan Singh (m. 2000/1500) in 1615 and the assignment of a minor mansab of 500/225 to his successor Jagmāl.<sup>6</sup> But in the case of the main line of the ruling family of Jodhpur, did not follow the policy of giving considerably reduced mansabs to the successor of a deceased chief, which did not allow the fall in the total mansabs of the Rāthors considerably. For example, after the death of Suraj Singh who held the mansab of 3000/2000 in 1612, his successor Gaj Singh was also assigned the same

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.143.

2. Ibid., p.203.

3. Ibid., p.192.

4. Ibid., p.126.

5. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.

6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.277; Tazkirat-ul Umraq; MS. f.150.

mansab of 2000/2000.<sup>1</sup> Another Rāther noble, belonging to the main line of the ruling family, Sabal Singh continued to hold a mansab of 500/225 throughout this period.<sup>2</sup>

### III

As we have noticed, during the period 1612-1621 AD, the position of the Rājput nobles in the Mughal service declined in terms of the mansabs held by them. But on the other hand, the list of Shāh Jahān's mansabdārs furnished by Lahorī shows that by the 10th R.Y. of Shāh Jahān's reign (i.e. 1637), the total mansabs of the Rājput nobles were more than the figure for the years 1605-12.<sup>3</sup> This would suggest that the Rājput nobles were able to regain their lost position and improved it further during the intervening period of 1621-1637. It is, of course, obvious that partly this improvement in their

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī, p.73; Vfr Vingd, 817; Jadhpur-re-Khyāt, I, pp.122, 150; Ma'asir-ul Umara; II, pp.223-25. In G.D. Sharma's book, his mansab is mentioned as 3000/200 which is obviously a slip of pen. Rajput Polity, p.40.
  2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī, p.277; Marwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, II, p.492; Tazkirat-ul Umara, MS. # F.153.
  3. In 1612, the Rājput nobles held the total mansabs of 69,700/24,940 while in 1637, the total mansabs of the Rajput nobles were 80,350/58,280. For reference, see Table 'B' of this chapter and Table 'A' of the next chapter.

position was the result of new appointments and increases ordered by Shāh Jahān after his coming to the throne. But partly at least the ground for this improvement must have been prepared as a result of the developments of the last six years of Jahāngīr's reign. It can be imagined that the cleavage which occurred between Jahāngīr and his son Shāh Jahān helped the Rājput nobles to improve their position; both the sides tried to win over the Rājput nobles by showing them favours. Similarly, when Mahābat Khān fell out with Nūr Jahān and captured the central government for a brief period in 1626, he also, like Shāh Jahān, tried to secure his own position by showing favours to some of the Rājput nobles.

On the whole, it seems, during the last six years of his reign, Jahāngīr went out of his way in ensuring that the chiefs of the more important clans in his service remained placated. This is reflected in mansab promotions and titles received by them during this period. During 1623, Jahāngīr bestowed the title of 'Mahārāja' upon his favourite Bundila chief, Bir Singh Deo, who had already reached the mansab of 5000/5000.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Bir Singh's son Jujhār Singh was given the mansab of 2000/1000<sup>2</sup> and by the end of Jahāngīr's reign, Jujhār Singh had

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, p.356.

2. Ibid.

already been raised to 4000/4000.<sup>1</sup> During the same time, another Bundila chief Bharat Singh was promoted from 1500/1000 to 3000/2000.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, Jahāngīr was going out of his way to placate the Bundila chiefs who controlled a strategically placed territory on the route to Burhānpur. This was the first occasion when any Rajput chief was given the exalted title of maharaja by the Mughal Emperor and moreover, it is also the only occasion when Jahāngīr preferred to bestow this title on any one of his nobles.

During the same period (1621-1627 AD) a number of Kachawāhas also improved their positions, the mansabs of three of them were enhanced. Kachawāha chief Jai Singh's mansab was increased from 2000/1000 to 4000/3000.<sup>3</sup> Rām Dās Narwari was promoted from 1500/700 to 2000/1000.<sup>4</sup> Rāja Girdhar was raised from 1200/900 to 2000/1500.<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact, during this period, Jahāngīr appears to be very anxious to keep his Kachawāha nobles in good humour. This is borne by an episode recorded by Jahāngīr

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1. Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II, pp.214-15.

2. Ibid., pp.212-14.

3. Jahāngīr's farman to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner; Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vicār, I, p.493.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.358.

5. Ibid., p.356; Tazkirat-ul-Umarā, MS. p.143.

himself. In 1623, while the imperial army was pursuing Shâh Jahân in Gujarat, there arose a quarrel between the Sayyids of Bârha and the retainers of Girdhar Kachawâha. In the scuffle that ensued, Girdhar and his twenty six retainers were killed. As a punishment for this killing, Sayyid Kabir, a member of the powerful clan of Saâdat-i Bârha was executed.<sup>1</sup> It is correctly noticed by Athar Ali that the Mughal rulers ordinarily avoided executing an officer of the state.<sup>2</sup> In this light, the decision of Mahâbat Khân, the noble who was in command of the army to execute Sayyid Kabir on the insistence of the Râjputs and ... Jahângîr's reference to this episode in the Tuzuk-i Jahângîrî in a manner suggesting his approval of the difficult decision that his commander had to take, goes to indicate the significance that was attached by the King and the nobles cooperating with them at this time, to the willing cooperation of the Râjput nobles with royalists. In pursuance of the same policy, the leading members of the Râthor clan were also felicitated by increasing their mansabs. Râja Gaj Singh of Jodhpur was promoted from 3000/2000 to 5000/5000<sup>3</sup> while Suraj Singh Râthor of Bikâner was raised from 2000/2000 to 3000/2000.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahângîrî, pp.374-75. Though we do not come across the mansab of Sayyid Kabir but from the passage of Tuzuk-i Jahângîrî (pp.374-75), it is known that Sayyid Kabir maintained troopers under his command.

2. M. Athar Ali, Presidential Address, PIHC, 1972, p.182.

3. Lâhorî, Bâdshâhnâma, I, p.158; Ma'âsir-ul Umârâ, I, p.571.

4. Ma'âsir-ul Umârâ, II, pp.211-12.

Further, to strengthen the relations with the ruling families of Jodhpur and Āmber, Jahāngīr established new matrimonial ties with them. In March 1624, Prince Parwiz married the sister of Rāja Gaj Singh.<sup>1</sup> In 1625, Prince Dāwar Bakhsh married the sister of Rāja Jai Singh.<sup>2</sup>

The Hāda chief Sarbuland Rāy became the favourite of Jahāngīr for the loyal services rendered by him since the beginning of his reign. He stood firmly on Jahāngīr's side during Shāh Jahān's revolt. In a skirmish with Shāh Jahān's forces at Burhanpur, Sarbuland Rāy, who was posted there as hākim, distinguished himself.<sup>3</sup> His son Gopi Nāth, who chose to flee from the battle field, was disowned by him.<sup>4</sup> Finally, when the imperial forces succeeded in overcoming rebels in the Deccan, as a reward for his royal services, Sarbuland Rāy was promoted from 2500/1500 to 5000/5000 with the title of 'Rām Rāy'<sup>5</sup> which was considered the highest honour in the Deccan.<sup>5</sup> Moreover,

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.380; Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I,108.
  2. Akbārāt, 20th R.Y., J.N. Sarkar's Collection, Calcutta, pp.2-4. I owe this reference to Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan.
  3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.195-96.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ahwāl-i Shahzāhā-i Shāh Jahān, p.67; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.195-96; Bānke Dās-re-Khyāt, p.145. For mansab of 5000, see also Delast, The Empire of Great Mogol, p.38.

during this period, Sarbuland Rāy's son Mādho Singh and his brother Hirday Narāin enjoyed the mansabs of 1000/600<sup>1</sup> and 1200/600<sup>2</sup> respectively.

Another Rājput clan which came to prominence during this period and earned the confidence of the imperial authority was the Bhaduriyas controlling the parganas Chandawar, Hatkant and Rapri in the vicinity of Agra as their zamīndārī.<sup>3</sup> Bhaduriyas, according to Farīd Bhakkari, were known as the "protectors of the fort of Akbarabad". When in 1623, taking advantage of Jahangir's absence from Āgra, Shāh Jahān advanced against the capital, Bhoj Bhaduriya came forward to check him. He sent a message to Shāh Jahān saying, "The wealth, country, fort and treasury belong to the Prince, but so long as Emperor Jahāngīr is alive, he cannot take possession of these".<sup>4</sup> The stout opposition of the Bhaduriya chief, apparently forced Shāh Jahān to withdraw from Āgra without making an attempt to occupy it

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1. Lāhorī, Bāghshahī-nāma, I, p.184; Ma'āsir-ul Umara', III, 453.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.322; Tazkirat-ul Umara', p.158.

3. Aīn-i Akbarī, I, pp.443-44; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, MS.f.108a.

4. Ibid. Bhaduriya chief who played this role was not Bikramajit as mentioned by Shaikh Farīd Bhakkari, but he was Bikramajit's son Bhoj Bhaduriya. Bikramajit had died in 1617 AD. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.192.

on this occasion. This attitude of the Bhadūriya chief suggests that around this time, he was close to Jahāngīr and for his unflinching loyalty to the Mughal ruling family enjoyed the fullest trust and confidence of the king. Farīd Bhakkarī's statement ascribing to Bhadūriya's role of protectors of the fort of Akbarabād might be interpreted as indicating the degree of reliance that Jahāngīr used to place on their support. It is significant that Bhoj Bhaduriya's firm stand in support of Jahāngīr on this occasion did not earn the entire Bhadūriyas clan Shāh Jahān's hostility. Shāh Jahān, apparently, understood the logic of Bhoj's stand that he was duty bound to be loyal to the reigning Emperor. As we shall see in the next chapter, Shāh Jahān after his accession continued his father's policy of favouring Bhadūriyas, though it is true, under Shāh Jāhan one does not hear of Bhoj any more.

At the time of Shāh Jahān's revolt, Anī Rāī Singh Dalān Bhadurīya<sup>1</sup>, who was favourite of Jahāngīr, was on the North-Eastern frontier at Ghazni to fight with the Uzbeks.<sup>1</sup> Next year in 1625, he was appointed to seize the fort of Kāngra.<sup>2</sup> In 1626, when Jahāngīr came to know that twenty two lakh rupess

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1. Ma'ārif-i Jahāngīrī, p.401.

2. Ibid., p.423.

were being carried from Bengal to be handed over to Mahabat Khan, who was in Thatta, he deputed Ani Rai Singh Dalān, Safdar Khan, Sipahdar Khan and others to seize the treasury. At Shahbād, Ani Rai Singh and his associates succeeded to seize the treasury.<sup>1</sup> However, Ani Rai Singh attained the rank of 3000 zat.<sup>2</sup> But after Shāh Jahān's accession, he submitted to him at Akbarābād.<sup>3</sup>

Further, Pundir chief Jagat Singh of Mau rebelled twice between the period from 1621 to 1627, even then he secured promotions in his mangab. Initially, Jagat Singh rebelled in favour of Prince Shāh Jahān but his revolt was crushed and he rejoined the imperial service.<sup>4</sup> Again in 1626, when Jahangir was in Kābul, Jagat Singh left the imperial service and fled to his watan Mau. However, the imperial forces forced him to submit to the king.<sup>5</sup> Despite these revolts, Jagat Singh was able to improve his position from 1000/500 to 3000/2000.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, pp.460, 462.

2. Palmaert, p.53.

3. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, p.492.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.376; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', II, pp.238-39.

5. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, 447.

6. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', II, pp.238-39.

Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign, when Mahābat Khān fell out with Nūr Jahān and captured the central government for a brief period in 1626, he also tried to secure his position by showing favours to some of the Rājput nobles. There are extant interesting farmāns of Jahāngīr of the period when he was under Mahābat Khān's control which suggests that Mahābat Khān was trying to cultivate relations with Jai Singh of Āmber and Suraj Singh Rāthor of Bikāner. From two of these farmāns, dated January 1625 and August 1625 addressed to Suraj Singh<sup>1</sup> and Jai Singh<sup>2</sup>, it seems that both the chiefs did not fully approve of Mahābat Khān's removal from the Deccan and were tardy in extending cooperation to Khān-i Jahān Lodi who was replaced as the commandant at Burhānpur. At this time, apparently Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān on their part were anxious to secure the cooperation of the Rājput nobles in the impending tussle with Mahābat Khān. They tried to persuade them to help Khān-i Jahān Lodi. Jahāngīr, even goes to the extent of threatening them with dire consequences including dismissal from the imperial service if they would fail to extend full cooperation to the new commander.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Jahāngīr's farmān to Suraj Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.51.

2. Jahāngīr's farmān to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.172.

3. Jahāngīr's farmāns to Jai Singh and Suraj Singh, RSA Bikaner, Ns. 7, 52.

About the same time Nur Jahān also wrote to Jai Singh a letter urging upon him to cooperate with Khān-i Jahān Lodi.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, Jai Singh remained with Khān-i Jahān and cooperated with him which earned him a khilat from the Empress in December 1625.<sup>2</sup> However, throughout this time Jai Singh and Suraj Singh appear to have been on the best of terms with Mahābat Khān. The latter, soon after taking Jahāngīr into prison in March 1626, had issued farmāns to Jai Singh and Suraj Singh Rāthor in which the king was made to place on record the 'favourable reports' made by Mahābat Khān regarding their roles in the Deccan.<sup>3</sup> It was clearly a friendly gesture on the part of Mahābat Khān aimed at further strengthening the bond of friendship and understanding between them. From the fact that these nobles were not reported to have made any move during this period, showing their resentment over Mahābat Khān's action suggest that these overtures of the latter were not entirely fruitless. On the other hand, when Mahābat Khān stayed at Ranthambhor on his way to Kābul from Deccan, Sisodia chief Rāna Karan extended help of one thousand troopers to the former.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Nur Jahān's nishān to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.172.

2. Ibid.

3. Jahāngīr's farmāns to Jai Singh and Suraj Singh, RSA Bikaner, No. 53, 11 and 61.

4. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣ, II, p.132.

But after the failure of coup d'état, when Mahābat Khān reached Mewār, Rāna Karan became indifferent to Mahābat Khān.<sup>1</sup> One may presume that the Rājput chiefs by and large cooperated with Mahābat Khān in running of the routine administration as long as the king was under his control. But after the collapse of Mahābat Khān's attempted coup d'état, the Rājput chiefs drew back from him and switched over their support to the new focus of imperial authority controlled by Nūr Jahān.

On the other hand, Shāh Jahān also realised that by winning over some of the senior chiefs to his side, he would greatly strengthen his position. He tried to gain their active support, but was not very successful. In April 1626, when Jahāngīr was under the custody of Mahābat Khān, Shāh Jahān made a futile attempt to persuade Jai Singh to join him. He addressed a letter to Jai Singh wherein emphasising the ties of kinship between them, he sought the latter's help.<sup>2</sup> Later, in June 1626, while Shāh Jahān was on his way to Thatta via Jodhpur, he contacted his Rāthor-in-laws to gain their support. He sent his Rāthor wife to Jodhpur to persuade her relations to help Shāh Jahān in the impending struggle for the throne. But his

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1. Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.255; Zakhirat-ul Khawānin, II, pp.141-42.

2. Shāh Jahān's letter to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.173; Shāh Jahān addressed Jai Singh as khāli because Shāh Jahān's step mother was the sister of Jai Singh.

endeavours towards this and were not very successful.<sup>1</sup> He could muster the active support of only two chiefs. Jagat Singh Pundir and Jagmāl Rāthor who held the mansabs of 1000/500<sup>2</sup> and 500/225<sup>3</sup> respectively. Other staunch supporters of Shāh Jahān among Rājput chiefs were Bhim Sisodia, Gopāl Dās Gaur and Bal Rām Gaur. It seems Bhim Sisodia did not hold any mansab in the imperial service, he was apparently enrolled directly in Shāh Jahān's contingent as one of the officers of the Prince some time prior to the battle of Bilochnpur. He distinguished himself in the battle of Bilochnpur and as a reward, Shah Jahan granted him the mansab of 5000/5000 with the title of 'Maharaja'.<sup>4</sup> Before Bhim Sisodia was killed in the battle of Tons, he had acquired the status of 6000/5000 in Shah Jahan's service.<sup>5</sup> Regarding Gaur chief Gopal Das and his son Bal Ram it is known that they were in service of Sarbuland Ray Hada before they joined Shah Jahan.<sup>6</sup> They were, however, quite close to Shah Jahan during this time. In March 1624, Shah Jahan appointed

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1. Marwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.111.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.264.

3. Tazkirat-ul Umara, f.150; Vix Vined, p.526.

4. Ahwaj-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, pp.52, 62; Lahori, Badshah-nama, I, p.123.

5. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr., pp.757, 759.

6. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.371.

Gopal Das as commandant of the fort of Asir.<sup>1</sup> Gopal Das and Bal Ram were killed in Thatta in course of a skirmish with the forces of local zamindars.<sup>2</sup> After their deaths, Siv Ram, son of Gopal Das and Bethal Das, son of Bal Ram were enrolled in Shah Jahan's service and continued to serve Shah Jahan down to his accession.<sup>3</sup> They emerged as influential Rajput nobles during Shah Jahan's reign.

Further, Shah Jahan's revolt caused split in the ruling Rajput clans. In case of the Ujjainya clan, one finds that in September 1624, when Shah Jahan was in Bihar, Narayan Mal and his brother Pratap joined Shah Jahan's service with the mansabs of 5000/5000 and 3000/2000<sup>4</sup> respectively. Other brothers of Narayan Mal were given the total mansab of 2000/1000.<sup>5</sup> But later on Narayan Mal's brother Satrajit and his certain son defected to the imperial side.<sup>6</sup> While in ~~zenzam~~, reverses, the Byndila chief Bir Singh Deo was devoted to Jahangir

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.371.
  2. Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, pp.71-72; Lahori, Badshah-nama, I, p.124.
  3. M'aasir-ul Umara, II, pp.250-25; 263-64.
  4. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. p.722; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, pp.221-22.
  5. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. p.722.
  6. Ibidem 779.

but his son Pahar Singh had joined Shah Jahan when he was in Bihar with a large contingent.<sup>1</sup> He was induced to take up this step on account of his quarrel with his father Bir Singh Deo Bundila. Pahar Singh was given the mansab of 5000/5000 by Shah Jahan<sup>2</sup> and one of his younger brothers who had accompanied him was assigned the mansab of 3000/2000.<sup>3</sup> Three other brothers of Pahar Singh, who had also joined Shah Jahan, were granted the total mansab of 2000/1000.<sup>4</sup> In October 1624, after the battle of Tons in which Shah Jahan was defeated, Pahar Singh defected to the imperial side.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, in case of the Kachawaha and Rathor clans, the chiefs of these clans Raja Jai Singh Kachawaha and Gaj Singh Rathor supported Jahangir while lesser important members of their clans joined Shah Jahan. In the Kachawaha clan, Manup Kachawaha who did not hold any mansab during this period backed Shah Jahan.<sup>6</sup> In the Rathor clan, Prithvi Raj, Shim and Akhey Raj who also did not hold any mansab sided with Shah Jahan.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. pp.732-33.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p.761; Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, p.62.

6. Lahori, Badshahnama, I, pp.122-23; Ma'sir-ul Umara, I, 516.

7. Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, pp.62-63; Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. p.735.

Thus, it emerges that during the first six years of his reign, Jahāngīr, over all, adopted liberal policy towards the Rājput nobility which enabled the Rājput nobles to improve their positions in regard of the mansabs. Jahāngīr was much more liberal towards those Rājput chiefs who supported his claim to the throne. Though, apparently, Jahangir did not punish the Rājput chiefs who opposed his succession but certainly he restrained to give them further promotions. In assignment of offices, Rājput nobles suffered heavily.

Between 1612 and 1621, the total mansabs of the Rājput chiefs declined. During this period, after the deaths of the senior nobles, either their successors were not taken in the imperial service or the successors/were taken in the service were assigned lower mansabs. But within the Rājput nobility, Jahāngīr felicitated to those Rājput chiefs who were recruited in the imperial service after his accession.

Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign, Shāh Jahān's revolt and the tussle between Nūr Jahān and Mahābat Khān paved the way for the Rājput chiefs to improve their position. In these crises, the important Rājput chiefs backed Jahāngīr to put down the revolts but a few who either enjoyed lesser status in the Mughal hierarchy or the Rājput chiefs who did not hold mansabs, supported Shāh Jahān.

Table 'A'

MANSABS HELD BY THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1605 A.D.  
AND IN 1611-12 A.D.

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Clan</u>	Number of Nobles in 1604-5	<u>Mansabs</u> 1604-5	Number of Nobles in 1611-12	<u>Mansabs</u> 1611-12
1.	Kachawaha	11	29,700	9	30,500
2.	Rathor	7	10,800	6	11,500
3.	Bhaduriya	2	4,000	1	2,000
4.	Baghela	2	2,100	1	2,000
5.	Chandrawat	1	4,000	1	700
6.	Bhati	1	3,000	1	3,000
7.	Tunwar	2	1,300	1	1,500
8.	Hada	1	1,000	1	1,500
9.	Dhandhera	1	1,000	1	1,000
10.	Pundir	1	700	1	3,500
11.	Bundiya	1	500	2	6,000
12.	Sisodia	1	200	1	3,000
		31	58,300	26	66,200

Table 'B'

MANSABS OF THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1620-21\*

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Number of Nobles</u>	<u>Mansab</u>
1.	Rathor	8	15,700/7,450
2.	Kachawaha	7	13,200/6,450
3.	Sisodia	4	14,000/8,200
4.	Bundila	2	5,600/5,400
5.	Hada	2	3,700/2,100
6.	Bhati	1	2,000/1,000
7.	Badgujar	1	2,000/1,600
8.	Jamwal	1	1,500/1,000
9.	Katoch	1	1,500/ 500
10.	Pundir	1	1,000/ 500
11.	Chandrawat	1	700
<hr/>			
	29		60,900/34,200
<hr/>			

\* For the mansab of individual chief and source,  
see appendices.

**Appendix 'A'**

**MANSABS HELD BY THE ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS  
IN 1611-12 A.D.**

**KACHAWĀHAS**

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Mansab</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1.	Raja Man Singh	7000/6000	<u>A.N.</u> , III, p.839.
2.	Madho Singh	3000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.821.
3.	Rai Sal Darbari Shaikhawat	5000	<u>Shikhar Vansotpat</u> , p.21.
4.	Maha Singh	2000/2000	<u>A.N.</u> , III, p.839; <u>Tuzuk</u> , p.7.
5.	Ram Das Udwat	5000	<u>Z.K.</u> , I, p.240.
6.	Bhaq Singh	1500	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.10; <u>M.U.</u> , III, p.360.
7.	Rai Manohar Shaikhawat	1000/1000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.112.
8.	Karam Chand s/o Jagannath	2000/1500	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.74; <u>M.U.</u> , I, p.516.
9.	Raj Singh	4000/3000	<u>M.U.</u> , II, pp.171-72.

**RĀTHORS**

1.	Suraj Singh of Jodhpur	3000/2000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.73; <u>V.V.</u> , II, p.817.
2.	Kesho Das Maru of Merta	1500/1000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , pp.9, 37.
3.	Sabal Singh s/o Mota Raja	500/ 225	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.277; <u>T.U.</u> , p.153.
4.	Kishan Singh s/o Mota Raja	2000/1500	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.72; <u>T.U.</u> , p.155.
5.	Dalpat s/o Rai Singh	1500/1000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.111.
6.	Pratap or Baharjiv of Baglana	3000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.196.

BUNDILAS

1. Bir Singh Deo	5000/2000	Tuzuk, p.100.
2. Ram Chandra	1000	Vigat, II, p.492.

PUNDIRS

1. Raja Basu	3500	Tuzuk, p.23.
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SISODIAS

1. Rana Sagar	3000/1000	Tuzuk, p.54; T.U., p.141.
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BHATIS

1. Rawal Bhim of Jaisalmer	3000	Bhatinama, referred in V.V., II, p.1763.
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BAGHELAS

1. Ram Deo Baghela	2000	Ain, I, p.161; Died in 1618 A.D., V.V., 556.
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HADAS

1. Ratan entitled Sarbuland Ray	1500/1240	Tuzuk, p.66.
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BHADURIYAS

1. Raja Bikramajit	2000	A.N., III, p.834; Tuzuk, 192; Z.K., I, p.234.
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contd..

DHANDHERAS

1. Raja Jagman  
of Dhandhera            1000            A.N., III, p.832; Iqbal,  
    p.504; Tuzuk, p.118.

TUNWARS

1. Shyam Singh            1500/1200            Tuzuk, p.37; T.U., p.141;  
    Died in 1618.

CHANDRAWATS

1. Chandu            700            M.U., II, pp.143-44.

**Appendix 'B'**

**MANSABS HELD BY THE ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN  
1620-21 A.D.**

**KACHAWĀHAS**

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Reference
1.	Raja Bhao Singh	5000/3000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.184; <u>M.U.</u> , III, p.361; <u>T.U.</u> , p.133.
2.	Narain Das	2000	<u>Vigat</u> , II, pp.491-93.
3.	Jai Singh	1000/1000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.192.
4.	Rai Prithvi Chand	700/ 450	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.239; <u>T.U.</u> , p.133.
5.	Karam Chand s/o Jagannath	2000/1500	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.74; <u>M.U.</u> , I, p.516; <u>T.U.</u> , p.155.
6.	Ram Das Narwari	1500/ 700	<u>M.U.</u> , II, p.172.
7.	Girdhar	1200/ 900	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.332.

**RĀTHORS**

1.	Pratap of Baglana	4000	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.203.
2.	Raja Gaj Singh	3000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.277; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 223-25.
3.	Raja Suraj Singh of Bikaner	2000/2000	<u>Vigat</u> , I, 93.
4.	Kesho Das Maru of Merta	2000/1200	<u>Tuzuk</u> , p.192.
5.	Karam Sen Rathor	1000/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.143.
6.	Jagmal s/o Kishan Singh	500/ 225	<u>T.U.</u> , p.150.
7.	--?-- b/o Raja Gaj Singh	500/ 225	Name is not mentioned in <u>Tuzuk</u> (p.277); probably, he is Sabal Singh of Kewal Ram ( <u>T.U.</u> , p.153) and Sagat Singh of Neinsi ( <u>Vigat</u> , II, p.492).

BUNDIAS

- |                       |           |                                |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Raja Bir Singh Deo | 5000/5000 | Tuzuk, p.306; Z.K., II, p.364. |
| 2. Bharat             | 1500/1000 | Tuzuk, pp.271, 355.            |

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SISUDIAS

- |   |           |   |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1. Kunwar Karan                                 | 5000/5000 | Jahangir's farman to Karan,<br>V.V., II, pp.240-49. |
| 2. Shyam Singh,<br>cousin of Rana<br>Amar Singh | 2500/1400 | Tuzuk, p.138.                                       |
| 3. Man Singh<br>s/o Sagar                       | 1500/ 800 | Ibid., p.310; T.U., f.157.                          |

BHATIS

- |                 |           |                                |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Rawal Kalyan | 2000/1000 | Tuzuk, p.163; Vigat, I, p.494. |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------------|

BADGUJARS

- |                           |           |               |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Ani Rai Singh<br>Dalan | 2000/1600 | Tuzuk, p.266. |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------------|

PUNDIRS

- |                            |           |               |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Jagat Singh<br>s/o Baso | 1000/ 500 | Tuzuk, p.264. |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------------|

contd.....

JAMWALS OR MANHAS

1. Raja Sangram of  
Jammu 1500/1000 Tuzuk, p.314.

HADAS

1. Ratan entitled  
Sarbuland Ray 2500/1500 Tuzuk, p.272.  
2. Hirday Narain  
b/o Ratan 1200/ 600 Tuzuk, p.322; T.U., f.158.

KATUCHS

1. Debi Chand  
of Gular 1500/ 500 Tuzuk, p.304.

CHANDRWATS

1. Chandu Singh 700 M.U., II, pp.147, 48.

### Chapter III

#### SHĀH JAHĀN AND RĀJPUT CHIEFS

In the preceding chapter, we have seen that before Prince Jahān's rebellion, the position of the Rājput nobles as a whole declined. At the same time new comers, belonging to the Sisodia, Bundila and Bargujar clans, became prominent. During Prince Shāh Jahān's rebellion most of the Rājput chiefs remained loyal to Jahāngīr, and only a few Rājput chiefs actively supported the Prince. However, after Jahāngīr's death the situation changed dramatically, especially after Shāh Jahān's successful occupation of Gujarat and triumphal march to Āgra. Though, like the other nobles, the Rājput chiefs too hastened to acknowledge him as Emperor, the new sovereign's attitude could not but be complicated by their past conduct, as he would judge it in each individual case.

One index of this is the mansab evidence. In Shāh Jahān's reign, we are fortunate in possessing fairly comprehensive mansab lists of the nobles. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, has furnished mansab lists of Shāh Jahān's nobles who held the mansab of 500 and above, for the 10th and 20th regnal years. For the 30th year, a similar list has been provided by Wāris. From other sources we encounter mansabs of some Rājput chiefs not included in these lists. On

the basis of this evidence, we have compiled lists of Rajput nobles, with their mansabs, for the three years, spaced at ten<sup>Lunar</sup> decades, viz., 1621, 1647, and 1656. We have classified the mansabs according to the clans of the nobles. Along with these lists, we have also prepared a list of offices held by the Rajput chiefs at different points of time. This information should provide us with a much sounder base for the study of the fortunes of the Rajput nobility during the reign of Shah Jahan.

From our table of mansabs, it is evident that after Shah Jahan's accession, the numerical strength as well as the mansab figures of the Rajput nobles increased substantially. In 1621, according to information compiled mainly from the Tuzuk, there were 29 Rajput nobles who altogether held the mansabs of 58,300/34,100<sup>1</sup> while by the end of 1637, their numerical strength was sixty two and their mansab figures were 84,350/59,780.<sup>2</sup> But this comparison may be misleading since the list of 1621 is probably very incomplete, having been compiled simply from incidental references in Jahangir Memoirs.

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1. See Appendix 'B' of chapter II.

2. See Table 'A'. For the mansab of an individual Rajput chief, see the appended list of mansabs held by the alive Rajput chiefs in 1637 A.D.

After his accession, Shāh Jahān rewarded the Gaur family whose members Gopāl and Bal Rām had been killed in his cause in Sind. The descendants of Gopāl and Bal Rām became trusted favourites of Shāh Jahān. In 1637, there were five Gaur nobles whose total mansabs amounted to 8,200/5,500.<sup>1</sup> Shāh Jahān, after his accession recruited Bethal Dās, son of Gopal Das in the imperial service with the mansab of 3000/1500.<sup>2</sup> He was also granted the title of Rāja, and presented with a flag, a horse, an elephant and Rs.30,000.<sup>3</sup> In 1630, when he distinguished himself in the campaign against Khān-i Jahān Lodi in an engagement near Dholpur, he was promoted to 3000/2000.<sup>4</sup> In 1631, an important office such as the Castellan (qilādār) of Ranthambhor was assigned to him.<sup>5</sup> In 1633, he was appointed the Governor (faujdar) of sūba Ajmer.<sup>6</sup> By the end of Shāh Jahān's 10th R.Y. (1636-1637 A.D.), he held the mansab of 4000/3000.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Dhandhera was granted to him in watan-jāgīr.<sup>8</sup>

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1. See Table 'A'.

2. Lāhorī, I, pp.117-18.

3. Ibid; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.250-52.

4. Lāhorī, I, pp.241-42, 277, 278, 280; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.250-52.

5. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp. 250-54.

6. Lāhorī, I, p.476; Imkha Taba Tabai, p.94.

7. Lāhorī, I, p.296.

8. Ibid, p.8.

Bethal Das's brother Girdhar Das was also taken in the imperial service with the mansab of 500/200.<sup>1</sup> In 1636, when Girdhar Das killed Jujhar Singh Bundila and captured the fort of Jhansi, in reward, he was appointed the qiladar of the fort of Jhansi.<sup>2</sup>

Siv Ram, son of Bal Ram Gaur, was granted the mansab of 1500/1000.<sup>3</sup> In 1636, he is known to have held the office of qiladar of the fort of Asir.<sup>4</sup> Besides, two more Gaur nobles Sangram and Kirpa Ram held mansabs of 1500/600<sup>5</sup> and 700/700<sup>6</sup>. In 1632, Kirpa Ram was appointed faujdar of chakla Hisar.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, the Sodha chief Rana Jodha of Amar Kot, ~~who~~ had ~~helped~~ helped Prince Shah Jahan to pass through his territory<sup>8</sup> was rewarded with the mansab of 800/300.<sup>9</sup>

Seeing that Shahjahan's mother was a Rathor princess, of Jodhpur, it is not surprising that the fortunes of the Rathors

- 
1. Lahori, I, p.324.
  2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.254-56.
  3. Lahori, I, p.305.
  4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.263-64.
  5. Lahori, I, p.306.
  6. Ibid., p.316.
  7. Ibid., p.432.
  8. Ahwat-i Shahzadai-i Shah Jahan, p.70.
  9. Lahori, I, p.315.

improved substantially. In 1621, there are known to have been only five nobles holding recorded mansabs from amongst the Rathers of Jodhpur;<sup>1</sup> in 1637 there were 10. Shah Jahan naturally exalted with mansabs those Rather chiefs who had sided with him during his rebellion; Prithvi Raj, Bhim and Bhar Mal were so rewarded. By the end of 1637, Prithvi Raj and Bhim held the mansabs of 2000/1700<sup>2</sup> and 1500/800<sup>3</sup> respectively. Jagmal was also assigned the mansab of 1500/800;<sup>4</sup> but he was killed in 1628 in encounter with Khan-i Jahan Lodi. His successor Hari Singh was given the mansab of 1000/800.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in 1629, when Girdhar Das, who held the mansab of 1000/500, was killed again in the campaign against Khan Jahan,<sup>6</sup> his son Udai Bhan was given the mansab of 600/400 with the title of Raja.<sup>7</sup> Other Rather nobles who were already in the service were given promotions. The mansab of Jagmal was increased from 500/225 to 1500/700.<sup>8</sup> But in 1629, after his death in battle, none of his

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1. See Table 'B' of the chapter II.

2. Lahori, I, p.301.

3. Ibid., p.306.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p.308.

6. Ibid., p.310.

7. Ibid., p.319; Bánka Dás-rá-Khyát, p.178.

8. Lahori, I, pp.121, 306.

descendants seems to have received any mansab. Another Rathor chief Sabal Singh was promoted from 500/225 to 900/800.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the mansab of Karamai Rathor enhanced from 1000/300 to 1500/800.<sup>2</sup> In 1629, when he was killed, his four sons were taken into imperial service. In 1637, his sons Shyam Singh, Jagannath, Nand Ram and Mahesh Das altogether held mansabs of 1950/880.<sup>3</sup>

The principal Rathor noble was, of course, the ruler of Jodhpur. It is noteworthy that though Raja Gaj Singh fought against Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Dujhar Singh Bundila and also served in the Deccan expeditions, he was not given any promotions. His mansab remained static as 5000/5000.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that either his mansab was already considered the highest that any Rajput noble could aspire to, or Shah Jahan did not forgive him for his role during his rebellion.

On the other hand, Rao Sur Singh of Bikaner who had sided with Jahangir received a promotion. In 1630, when the Rao distinguished himself in the campaign against Khan-i Jahan Lodi,<sup>he was</sup>

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1. Lahori, I, p.312.

2. Ibid., p.306.

3. For the mansabs of the individuals, see Appendix 'A' of this chapter.

4. Lahori, I, p.294; Ma'nair-ul-Umar, II, pp.223-26.

raised from 3000/2000 to 4000/3000.<sup>1</sup> After the death of the Rao in 1631, his two sons Karan Singh and Satmal were granted mansabs of 2000/1500<sup>2</sup> and 500/200<sup>3</sup> respectively. In 1632, Karan Singh was sent on the Deccan expeditions and when in 1635, the fort of Daulatabad was occupied, he was appointed the qiladar of that fort.<sup>4</sup>

In the Kachawaha clan, Manrup Rajawat who sided with prince Shah Jahan in the rebellion was taken into imperial service with the mansab of 3000/2000.<sup>5</sup> In addition, he was presented a horse with silver saddle, an elephant and Re.2500.<sup>6</sup> After his death in 1630, his son Gopal Singh was given the mansab of 900/600.<sup>7</sup>

Though the Kachawaha Ruler of Amber, Jai Singh, had sided with Jahangir, his last-minute switch-over to Shah Jahan's cause after Jahangir's death, probably secured him favour; though it

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1. Lahori, I, pp.120, 295, 296, 297; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.211-12.

2. Lahori, I, pp.398, 302.

3. Ibid.

4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.287-88.

5. Lahori, I, p.299.

6. Ibid., p.118.

7. Ibid., p.312.

should be remembered that the Amber rulers had traditionally attracted imperial favour. In 1628, when Raja Jai Singh was sent with Qasim Khan Jujwani to crush the rebels of Mahaban, he was promoted from 4000/2500 to 4000/3000.<sup>1</sup> In 1629, when the Raja was sent with Shaista Khan in Deccan, he was promoted to 4000/4000.<sup>2</sup> In 1635, he obtained the rank of 5000/4000, and was despatched with Khan-i Zaman, Governor of Balaghat.<sup>3</sup> By the end of 1637, Jai Singh had attained the mansab of 5000/5000.<sup>4</sup>

Another Rajawat noble Ram Das Narwari who had also served in imperial forces sent against Prince Shah Jahan, did not receive any increase in his mansab. He continued with his mansab of 2000/1000.<sup>5</sup> Two Rajawat nobles Narain Das (2000/-) and Karam Chand (2000/1500) who had fought against Shah Jahan are no longer mentioned. On the other hand, four new Rajawat nobles namely Har Ram (700/300), Rup Singh (700/300), Ugar Sen (600/400) and Mathura Das (500/400)<sup>6</sup> seem to have been recruited.

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1. Lahori, I, p.120.

2. Ibid., pp.196, 204, 205, 296; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 568-69.

3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.570-71.

4. Lahori, I, p.294.

5. Ibid., p.303.

6. Ibid., pp.317, 319, 322.

Therefore, between the period from 1621 to 1637, the over all strength of the Rajawat nobles increased from five to seven but in term of mansabs, their position declined slightly from 11,500/5,100 to 11,300/800.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, after Shah Jahan's accession, the position of non-Rajawat nobles was strengthened in regard to number as well as mansabs. During the period from 1621 to 1637, their number increased from two to five and their total mansabs from 1,900/1,350 to 3,400/2,100.<sup>2</sup> Shah Jahān admitted two new Shaikhawat nobles Ugar Sen and Nar Singh Das with the mansabs of 800/400<sup>3</sup> and 500/400<sup>4</sup> respectively. During the last years of Jahāngīr (1621-27), two Shaikhawat nobles Prithvi Raj and Girdhar Das, holding mansabs of 700/450 and 2000/1500 respectively, had died.<sup>5</sup> By the end of 1637, Prithvi Chand's son, Tilok Chand, and Girdhar Das's son, Bhoj Rāj, held mansabs of 800/500<sup>6</sup> and 800/400<sup>7</sup> respectively. Besides, one significant

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1. Compare Table 'B' of the second chapter and 'A' of the third chapter.

2. Ibid.

3. Lāherī, I, p.314.

4. Ibid., p.322.

5. See mansab list of 1621 A.D. attached to chapter II.

6. Lāherī, I, p.314.

7. Ibid.

development was the grant of a mansab, for the first time, to a member of the Naruka clan. Chandra Bhan Naruka was taken into imperial service with the mansab of 500/400.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Sisodias, Kunwar Bhim had been a loyal partisan of Shah Jahan, losing his life in his cause in 1624. After his accession, Shah Jahan admitted his son Rao Rai Singh into imperial service with the high mansab of 2000/1000; the title of Raja was also conferred upon him.<sup>2</sup> In addition, he was presented with a horse, an elephant, a robe of honour, a dagger and Rs.20,000.<sup>3</sup> In 1634, he took part in the campaign against Jujhar Singh Bundila, and by the end of 1637, he had acquired the rank of 3000/1500.<sup>4</sup>

As for Rana Karan Singh, when Jahangir died and Prince Daur Bakhsh was installed on the throne in January 1628, Shah Jahan on his way from the Deccan to the North, stayed in Mewar where the Rana presented him peshkash. In return, Shah Jahan presented a khilat and confirmed the Rana in his mansab of

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1. Laheri, I, p.322.

2. Ibid., p.195; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, pp.297-99.

3. Ibid., p.195.

4. Ibid., pp.142, 299; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, pp.298-300.

5000/5000.<sup>1</sup> Rana Karan Singh died soon after; his son Jagat Singh was assigned the same mansab of 5000/5000 with the hereditary title of Rana.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that the prerogative enjoyed by the chiefs of service Mewar in respect of rendering/to the Mughals through their substitute continued under Emperor Shah Jahan. Even the number of troopers in the Mughal service were reduced from 1000 to 500. Now Rana Jagat Singh's uncle Arjun with 500 troopers was conditioned to render service in the Deccan on behalf of the Rana.<sup>3</sup>

While the ruling family of Mewar thus retained its position in the Mughal nobility, the fortunes of two other Sisodia families may also be noted. In 1621, there were two Sisodia nobles Man Singh and Shyam Singh who held the mansabs of 1500/800 and 2000/1400.<sup>4</sup> But after 1621, nothing is known about them. After Shah Jahan's accession, Shyam Singh's son Madho Singh held the mansab of 500/250<sup>5</sup> but after his death in 1634, none of his kinsmen is known to have held the mansab. Similarly, Man Singh's

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1. Lahori, I, p.80.

2. Ibid., p.161.

3. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, pp.203-7; Lahori, I, p.518.

4. Op. cit.

5. Lahori, I, p.323.

son Fateh Singh held the mansab of 800/200.<sup>1</sup> After his death in 1629, other members of his family also received or held mansabs. By the end of 1637, his nephew Gokul Das held the mansab of 900/500.<sup>2</sup> Sujan Singh, uncle of Man Singh and Shyam Singh, brother of Man Singh enjoyed the mansabs of 800/300<sup>3</sup> and 1000/500<sup>4</sup> respectively.

After Shah Jahan's accession, the position of the subordinate sardars of the Rana of Mewar who had joined imperial service, further improved. About Chandu Singh Chandrawat of Rampura who held the mansab of 700 zat during Jahangir's reign, nothing is known. But in Shah Jahan's 3rd R.Y. (1630-1631 A.D.), Chandu Singh's son Duda appears with a mansab of 1500/1000.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, he won promotion to 2000/1500 and served against Khan-i Jahan Lodi.<sup>6</sup> In 1634, he was sent with Mahabat Khan against Bijapur, and he died in battle.<sup>7</sup> Subsequently, his son Hathi Singh was given the mansab of 1500/1000 with the title of

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1. Lahori, I, p.316.
  2. Ibid., p.312.
  3. Ibid., p.315.
  4. Ibid., p.310.
  5. Ibid., p.302.
  6. Ibid., p.299.
  7. Ibid., p.305.

Rāo.<sup>1</sup> Another Chandrawat chief Hari Singh, younger son of Chandu Singh held the mansab of 500/400.<sup>2</sup> After his death in 1635, no kinsmen of his seems to have immediately inherited his mansab.

Moreover, two important nominal subordinates of the Rana were taken directly into imperial service by Shāh Jahān. Though the ancestors of Rāwāl Punja of Dungarpur and Rāwāl Samarsī of Bānswāra had accepted the suzerainty of Emperor Akbar, they had not received mansabs.<sup>3</sup> Shāh Jahān after his coming to the Mughal throne, assigned the mansab of 1500/1500 to Rāwāl Punja of Dungarpur.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Rāwāl Samarsī of Bānswāra was granted a mansab of 1000/1000.<sup>5</sup> Rāwat Har Dās Jhāla of Sādri thikāna was granted the mansab of 500/100.<sup>6</sup> Later on in 1631, Har Das was killed in the campaign against Khān Jahān Lodi.<sup>7</sup>

The Hadas had served Jahāngīr's cause during Shāh Jahān's rebellion. Consequently, after Shāh Jahān's accession, their

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1. Lāherī, I, p.305.

2. Ibid., p.322; Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā', II, pp.145-48.

3. Op. Cit.

4. Lāherī, I, p.304.

5. Ibid., p.307.

6. Ibid., p.325.

7. Ibid.

adversely

position seems to have been slightly/affected, their total mansabs declining from 7,200/6,200 to 7,100/5,400.<sup>1</sup> Initially, Shah Jahan confirmed Ratan Singh and his son Madho Singh on their mansabs 5000/5000<sup>2</sup> and 1000/600<sup>3</sup> respectively. From the Factory Records, we gather that Rao Ratan was fined Rs.1,50,000 by Shah Jahan which he could not pay till his death. In 1631, after the Rao's death, when his successor Satrasal came to court with the presents, Shah Jahan accepted the presents, but asked him to remit the fine before his departure to his chiefdom Bundi.<sup>4</sup> We also know that when Rao Ratan was at Burhanpur, he had purchased tapestry worth Rs.18,450 from agent Willoughby of the British Company. Out of this amount, the Rao paid Rs.1000 only.<sup>5</sup> From the subsequent factory reports, we know that Rao Ratan died without being made the payment. When his successor was approached, he declined to make the payment to a British agent.<sup>6</sup> In 1631, after Ratan Singh's death, his territory Bundi was divided into

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1. Compare the Table 'B' of the chapter II and table 'A' of this chapter.

2. Lahori, I, p.294.

3. Ibid., p.184.

4. The English Factories (1634-36 A.D.), pp.320-21.

5. Ibid. (1630-33 A.D.), p.90.

6. Ibid., pp.131, 139, 213, 214; See also The English Factories (1634-36 A.D.), pp.54, 55, 63, 217, 257, 280-81, 294.

two parts. His son Madho Singh was assigned the parganas of Kota and Falaita with the mansab of 2500/1500,<sup>1</sup> and his grandson Satrsal was granted the parganas of Bundi and Kankar with a mansab of 3000/2000 together with the title of Rao.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, both rendered loyal service. It was Madho Singh who pursued and killed Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.<sup>3</sup> Madho Singh also took part in the expedition against Jujhar Singh Bundila. In reward, he was promoted to 3000/1600.<sup>4</sup> In 1635, he along with Khan-i-Dauran distinguished himself in the campaign against Jujhar Singh and was raised to the rank of 3000/2000.<sup>5</sup>

In 1635, Satrsal Hada accompanied Shah Jahan to the Deccan where he played an important role against the expedition against Shahji Bhonsla.<sup>6</sup> He was promoted to 3000/2000.<sup>7</sup> Besides, Satrsal's younger brother Indrasal was also taken into imperial service with a mansab of 600/300.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the mansab of Hirday Narain Hada who held the mansab of 1200/600 in 1621,

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1. Lahori, I, p.401.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp.350-51; Ma'sair-ul-Umara, III, pp.453-56.

4. Lahori, I, pp.113, 115; Ma'sair-ul-Umara, III, pp.454-56.

5. Ibid.

6. Lahori, I, p.135.

7. Ibid., p.177.

8. Ibid., p.320.

was curtailed to 500/100.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this demotion is not known.

In the case of the Bundila clan, Shah Jahan adopted a liberal attitude after his accession. Unlike other Rajput chiefs who had opposed his rebellion, they were not debarred from further promotions. In 1624, Pahar Singh had joined Prince Shah Jahan's service for a time,<sup>2</sup> but after the defeat of Shah Jahan in the battle of Tons, Pahar Singh had defected to the imperial side. Nevertheless, Shah Jahan, after his accession, promoted him from 2000/1200 to 3000/2000.<sup>3</sup> Further, in 1630, he was granted the title of Raja.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, his three brothers, Chandraman, Bhagwan Das and Beni Das were taken into imperial service with mansabs of 1500/800,<sup>5</sup> 1000/600<sup>6</sup> and 500/200<sup>7</sup> respectively.

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1. Lahori, I, p.328.

2. Op. cit.

3. Lahori, I, p.205; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, pp.256-57.

4. Lahori, I, p.303.

5. Ibid., p.306.

6. Ibid., p.309.

7. Ibid., p.324.

Similarly, Bharat Bundila continued to obtain promotion. He was promoted at the accession, from 1500/1000 to 3000/2500.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed the faujdar of Etawah.<sup>2</sup> In 1630, his mansab was enhanced to 3000/3000,<sup>3</sup> and in 1632, to 3500/3000.<sup>4</sup> At the time of his death in 1635, he had acquired the rank of 4000/3500.<sup>5</sup> His son Debi Singh was taken into service with the mansab of 2000/2000.

The relations with Jujhār Singh, the principal Bundila ruler was, however, complex and led to a complete rupture twice. Jujhār Singh was one of the favourites of Jahāngīr and had been active in the suppression of the rebellion of Shāh Jahān.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, when Jujhār Singh after his father Bir Singh's death (1627 A.D.) came to Shāh Jahān, he was granted the chiefship of Bundila clan with the mansab of 4000/4000 and the title of Rāja.<sup>7</sup> Later, he was promoted to 5000/4000.<sup>8</sup> His son Vikramajit was also assigned the mansab of 1000/1000.<sup>9</sup> But when Shāh Jahān

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1. Lāhorī, I, p.120.

2. Ibid., p.191.

3. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', II, pp.212-14.

4. Ibid.

5. Lāhorī, I, p.296.

6. Op. cit.

7. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', II, pp.214-18.

8. Lāhorī, I, p.294; Qazwinī, 1528.

9. Lāhorī, I, p.184.

wanted to resume the unauthorised gains of his father Bir Singh, Jujhar Singh fled from the imperial court. It is significant that his brothers Pahar Singh and Bharat Bundila were sent against him. At last, Jujhar Singh was forced to submit, whereupon Shah Jahan not only recognised him as Raja of Orchha but also increased his mansab to 5000/5000.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, Jujhar Singh was sent with Azam Khan, subedar of the Deccan, against Khan-i Jahan Lodi. But again in 1633, Jujhar Singh after a short stay in the Deccan returned to Orchha and began to extend his territory at the cost of local zamindars.<sup>2</sup> His violent capture of Chauragarh led to Shah Jahan's ordering a full-scale campaign against him, during which both he and his son Vikramajit were killed.<sup>3</sup> Shah Jahan conferred Orchha with the mansab of 2500/2500 and the title of Raja upon Bharat Singh's son Debi Singh.<sup>4</sup> Thus the territory restored to the family of Ramchandra from whom Jahangir had taken it in 1611 to assign it to his favourite Bir Singh Deo.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Lahori, I, pp.294, 302; II, 294.

2. Ibid., I, p. 302 ; II, p.294.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.13.

5. Op. cit.

Thus, it emerges that Shah Jahan after his accession tried to keep the Bundila chiefs in good humour. But within the Bundila clan, Shah Jahan patronized particularly the members of the rival branch to that of ruling chief Jujhar Singh. Consequently, at the time of Jujhar Singh's revolt, Shah Jahan utilized their services against him. However, if one compares the mansab strength of Bundila chiefs at the different points of time, one would find that after Shah Jahan's accession, initially, the mansabs of the Bundila chiefs increased remarkably. By the end of 1634 A.D., their mansabs reached its pinnacle at 18,500/16,000.<sup>1</sup> This liberality might have flowed from a recognition of the strategic importance of the Bundilas in controlling the route to the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> But Jujhar Singh's rebellion brought about a great decline in Bundila fortunes, although they remained an important clan in the Mughal nobility to the very end. By the end of 1637, their mansabs had come down to 8,500/5,600 which was lower than that of the mansabs of 9,500/8,200<sup>3</sup> enjoyed by the Bundila chiefs towards the end of Jahangir's reign.

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1. For these mansab figures, see the individual mansab of the Bundila chiefs, K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput clans in the Mughal Nobility, The Bundela Case'. The aggregate mansab figures 15,500/14,340 furnished by Trivedi are wrong. See, PIHC, Bhubaneswar, 1977.
  2. Muhtas Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, pp.127-8; K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility: The Bundila Case', PIHC, 1977.
  3. Compare Table 'A' of this chapter and 'B' of the second chapter.

It seems that the rebellions of Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Dujhar Singh Bundila prompted Shah Jahan to take other chiefs of central India in the imperial service. The Jadon chiefs Jagmal and Mukund of Kerauli were assigned mansab of 500/300 each.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Nahar Solanki and Narhar Das Jhala of Našwa were admitted to imperial service with the mansabs of 500/400<sup>2</sup> and 500/200<sup>3</sup> respectively. In 1631, after the death of Narhar Das, in the battle of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, his son Dayal Das Jhala was assigned the mansab of 500/250.<sup>4</sup>

In case of the Ujjainyas, we noticed that in 1624, when Prince Shah Jahan was in Bihar, Narain Mal and his brother Pratap had joined the Prince. It seems that after Shah Jahan's defeat in the battle of Tons, the Ujjainya chiefs had left the side of the Prince.<sup>5</sup> But after Shah Jahan's accession, Pratap Ujjainya, who was assigned the mansab of 3000/2000 in 1624,<sup>6</sup> was taken into imperial service with a lower mansab of 1500/1000<sup>7</sup> which probably

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1. Lahori, I, pp.322, 323.

2. Ibid., p.322.

3. Ibid., p.323.

4. Ibid.

5. Op. cit.

6. Op. cit.

7. Lahori, I, p.305.

did not satisfy him. He, thereupon, rebelled, and was killed in 1636.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the Bhaduriyas, who had resisted Shah Jahan when he had besieged Agra, were treated favourably by Shah Jahan after his coming to the throne. In 1628, the Bhaduriya chief Kishan Singh played a distinguished role in the expedition against Jujhar Singh Bundila.<sup>2</sup> In 1631, he was sent with Shaista Khan against Nizam Shah.<sup>3</sup> In 1636, he was sent with Khan-i Zaman against Shahji Bhonsla.<sup>4</sup> Towards the end of 1637, Kishan Singh held the mansab of 1000/600.<sup>5</sup> Besides, Rai Ganesh and Badan Singh Bhaduriya also enjoyed the mansabs of 1000/600<sup>6</sup> and 500/200<sup>7</sup> respectively.

The Badgujar noble Ani Rai Singh Dalan who was one of the favourites of Jahangir continued to get favours from Shah Jahan.

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1. Lahori, I, p.305.

2. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, III, pp.150-52.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Lahori, I, p.309.

6. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign, p.29.

7. Lahori, I, p.324.

After Shah Jahan's coming to the throne, he was promoted to 3000/1500.<sup>1</sup> Further, in 1631, after the death of his father Bir Narain who held the mansab of 1000/600, the title of Raja was conferred upon him.<sup>2</sup> After his own death in 1637, his son Jay Ram was assigned the mansab of 1000/800.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that Shah Jahan adopted liberal attitude towards the chiefs who had their strong holds around the capital city of Agra. In pursuit of the same policy, Shah Jahan seems to have raised Lakhmi Sen, Chauhan chief of Ajaun to the mansab of 800/500.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, among the hilly Rajput chiefs, Jagat Singh Pundir who rebelled twice against Jahangir on behalf of Shah Jahan, did not receive any promotion during the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign. He continued on his mansab 3000/2000.<sup>5</sup> However, in 1635, he held the office of thanedar of Bangash.<sup>6</sup> The mansab of other hill Rajput chiefs seems to have declined after Shah Jahan's accession. In 1621, Raja Sangram of Jammu and Debi Chand of Guler enjoyed the mansabs of 1500/1000 and 1500/500<sup>7</sup> respectively, but afterwards nothing

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1. Lahori, I, p.299.

2. Ma'sir-ul Umara, II, pp.221-23.

3. Lahori, II, p.4.

4. Ibid., I, p.314.

5. Ibid., p.298.

6. Ma'sir-ul Umara, II, pp.238-41.

7. Op. cit.

is known about them. Subsequently, after Shah Jahan's accession, Raja Sangram's successor Raja Udai Singh held the mansab of 500/250.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Debi Chand's successor Rup Chand enjoyed the mansab of 1000/600<sup>2</sup> but in 1635, after his death in battle against Prithvi Raj of Srinagar-Garhwal, his successor Man Singh was given the mansab of 900/850.<sup>3</sup>

However, Shah Jahan did recruit some more hill Rajput chiefs in the imperial service. Kunwar Sen Sena of Kishtwar and Katoch chief Chandra Bhan of Kangra were admitted with the mansabs of 1000/300<sup>4</sup> and 500/300<sup>5</sup> respectively.

## II

Between the period from 1637 to 1647 A.D., as it is obvious from Table 'B' that the number as well as the mansabs of the

- 
1. Lahori, I, p.323.
  2. Ibid., p.309.
  3. Ibid., p.312.
  4. Ibid., p.311.
  5. Ibid., p.322.

Rajput chiefs increased. Their number went up from 62 to 71 and their mansabs rose from 84350/59780 to 92,150/74,480.<sup>1</sup>

During this period, position of the Rathors declined in the imperial service. Their number came down from thirteen to ten and their mansabs fell from 16,600/13,270 to 15,300/14,300.<sup>2</sup> This was, perhaps, partly due to mortality. During this decade, seven Ruthor nobles died. Out of these seven, the descendants of four were taken into service. After Raja Gaj Singh's death in May 1638, his younger son Jaswant Singh was granted the tika of Jodhpur instead of the eldest son Amar Singh. It is explained by the official historian that the choice was made by the Emperor in accordance with Ruthor custom.<sup>3</sup> He was given the mansab of 4000/4000 with the title of Raja.<sup>4</sup> In January 1639, when he accompanied Shah Jahan to Kabul, his mansab was raised to 5000/5000.<sup>5</sup> In 1642, he accompanied the Qandhar expedition commanded by Dara Shukoh.<sup>6</sup> After his return from there in January 1645, he was appointed acting subedar of Akbarabad (Agra)

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1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.

2. Ibid.

3. Lahori, II, p.98.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p.133.

6. Ibid., pp.162, 177.

till the return of Shaikh Farid Fatehpuri from Kabul.<sup>1</sup> By the end of 1647 A.D., Jaswant Singh had acquired the rank of 5000/5000 with 2500 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>2</sup>

Jaswant Singh's elder brother Amar Singh who was over-ruled in regard of succession to the gaddi of Jodhpur, was sought to be made content by promoting him from 3000/2500 to 3000/3000 with the title of Rao.<sup>3</sup> He was also granted watan jaqir in the pargana of Nāgore.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, in July 1644, there was dispute between Rao Amar Singh and Rao Karan of Bikāner over the boundary between their jaqirs. This case was referred to Mir Bakhshi Salābat Khān who was suspected by Amar Singh of favouring Rao Karan. Amar Singh assassinated Salābat Khān in Shāh Jahān's court. He was killed in the ensuing struggle.<sup>5</sup> At the time of his death, he held the mansab of 4000/3000.<sup>6</sup> In spite of his conduct, his son Rao Rāi Singh was granted the mansab of 1000/700.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Lāhorī, II, p.407.

2. Ibid., p.719.

3. Ibid., p.97; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.230-37.

4. His grand son Inder Singh continued to hold the watan jaqir in the pargana of Nāgore. Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, p.121.

5. Lāhorī, II, p.382; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.445,47.

6. Lāhorī, II, p.721.

7. Ibid., p.733.

In 1641, Mahesh Das was promoted from 1000/600 to 1000/1000 and was posted with the Qandhar expedition of Dara Shukoh.<sup>1</sup> In 1643, he was raised to the mansab of 2000/2000 and pargana Jaler was granted to him as his watan jagir.<sup>2</sup> In 1645, he was promoted to 3000/2500.<sup>3</sup> In 1646, after his death, his son, Ratan Singh, was promoted from 400/200<sup>4</sup> to 1500/1500.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, in 1656, in exchange of Jaler, the pargana of Ratlam was granted to him in watan-jagir.<sup>6</sup> After the death of Mahesh Das, his brother Jaswant Singh was assigned the mansab of 500/250.<sup>7</sup> In the case of another Rathor chief Hari Singh of Kishangarh who held the mansab of 1500/900<sup>8</sup>, at the time of his death in 1644, his successor Rup Singh was assigned the mansab of 2000/1000.<sup>9</sup>

Three other Rathor nobles Bhim Singh (1500/800)<sup>10</sup> Sabal Singh (900/800)<sup>11</sup> and Jagannath (800/400)<sup>12</sup> were not succeeded

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1. Lahori, II, pp.136, 230, 294, 484, 549.
  2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.445-47.
  3. Lahori, II, p.554.
  4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.445-47.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Raghuvir Singh, Ratlam Raive ka Pratham Itihas (Hindi), pp.95-98; The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, 240-41.
  7. Lahori, II, p.748.
  8. Ibid., p.373; Vir Vimad, II, p.527.
  9. Lahori, II, p.373.
  10. Ibid., p.730.
  11. Ibid., I, p.312.
  12. Ibid., p.317.

by their heirs at least to the extent of obtaining any significant mansabs. Their total mansabs came up to 3,100/900. As for the four sons of Karamsi who held all together, total mansabs of 1100/350<sup>1</sup> in the 10th R.Y. (1637 A.D.), no further information about them is provided in our sources.

Three new Rathor nobles Gordhan (800/400),<sup>2</sup> Govind Das (500/250)<sup>3</sup> and Kesri Singh (500/100)<sup>4</sup> obtained places in Imperial service. The total strength of their mansabs was 1800/750. Moreover, two senior nobles received further promotions in their mansabs. Shyam Singh was promoted from 600/400 to 1500/600.<sup>5</sup> Another Rathor noble Prithvi Raj was raised from 2000/1700 to 2000/2000.<sup>6</sup> In 1644, Prithvi Raj was appointed the qiladar of Daulatabad fort.<sup>7</sup> In 1646, he was recalled from Daulatabad and appointed the qiladar of Agra fort along with Baqir Khan.<sup>8</sup>

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1. See Appendix 'A'.

2. Lahori, II, p.740.

3. Ibid., p.748.

4. Ibid., p.752.

5. Ibid., p.731.

6. Ibid., p.726.

7. Ma'sir-ul-Umara, I, pp.429-31.

8. Ibid.

The total mansabs of the Rathors of Bikaner declined during this period from 2900/2,100 to 2000/1500.<sup>1</sup> During this decade (1637-1647 A.D.) Rao Karan did not receive any promotion in his mansab. He continued on his mansab of 2000/1500 while nothing is known about Shatrusal who held the mansab of 700/600 in 1647 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The number of the Kachawaha nobles during this period increased from eleven to eighteen, and their mansab increased from 11,800/8,600 to 17,700/16,000.<sup>3</sup> The Rajawats accounted for thirteen of the 18 Kachawaha nobles and enjoyed the bulk (14,100/13,200) of the total mansabs granted to Kachawahas.<sup>4</sup>

The four senior Rajawat nobles received promotions in their mansabs. Jai Singh was promoted from 5000/5000 to 5000/5000 all do aspa sih aspa.<sup>5</sup> In 1639, the title of 'Mirza Raja' which was enjoyed by great grandfather Raja Man Singh, was conferred upon him.<sup>6</sup> Ugar San (800/400) Mathura Das (500/400) and

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1. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
  2. Lahori, I, p.316.
  3. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
  4. See list 'B' of mansabs.
  5. Lahori, II, p.719.
  6. *Ibid.*, p.145.

Gopal Singh (900/600) were raised to 800/600,<sup>1</sup> 700/400<sup>2</sup> and 1000/1000<sup>3</sup> respectively. Nine new Rajawat nobles were taken into imperial service. They held, in total, the mansabs of 5,600/4,100.<sup>4</sup> Three Rajawat nobles Har Ram, Rup Singh and Ugar Sen, son of Shatru Sal, died during this decade. The strength of their total mansabs was 2000/1000.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, the number as well as the mansabs of the other Kachawahas also increased. Their number rose from four to five and their mansabs went up from 2,600/1700 to 3,600/2,400.<sup>6</sup> Two senior Shaikhawat nobles Tilok Chand and Nar Singh Das were raised from 800/500 and 500/400 to 1000/500<sup>7</sup> and 800/800<sup>8</sup> respectively. Bhoj Raj, son of Raisal who had earlier held the mansab of 800/400<sup>9</sup> is not heard of during this decade. Two new Shaikhawat chiefs Pem Chand and Kanhi Ram were granted the mansabs

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1. Laheri, II, p.739.

2. Ibid., p.742.

3. Ibid., p.732.

4. For the mansab of individual Rajawat chief, see Appendix 'B'.

5. See Appendix 'A'.

6. See Appendix 'B'.

7. Laheri, II, p.735.

8. Ibid., p.739.

9. Ibid., I, p.314.

of 600/400<sup>1</sup> and 500/200<sup>2</sup> respectively. Another chief Chandra Bhan Naruka received promotion; his mansab being raised to 700/500 from 500/400.<sup>3</sup>

The Gours continued to prosper during this decade. Their number increased from five to eight and their total mansabs went up from 8,700/6500 to 12,100/9,650.<sup>4</sup> Bithal Das, chief of Gaur clan was particularly favoured. In 1638, when Shah Jahan was going to Lahore, he appointed Bithal Das qiladar of Agra.<sup>5</sup> In 1641, he was assigned the office of subedar of Agra.<sup>6</sup> In 1643, he was promoted from 4000/3000 to 5000/3000.<sup>7</sup> In 1646, he was sent to Balkh and Badakhshan with Prince Murad and his mansab was raised to 5000/4000.<sup>8</sup> By the end of 1647, he had acquired the rank of 5000/5000.<sup>9</sup> In 1646, his son Anirudh was also taken into imperial service with the mansab of 1500/1000.<sup>10</sup> In 1646,

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1. Lahori, II, p.745.

2. Ibid., p.731.

3. Ibid., p.742.

4. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.

5. Lahori, II, p.110.

6. Taba Tabai, p.94; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.256-57.

7. Lahori, II, p.321.

8. Ibid., pp.398, 479.

9. Ibid., p.720.

10. Ibid., p.730.

his second son Arjun was also posted with the army of Prince Murād, and is then said to have held the mansab of 1000/700.<sup>1</sup>

Girdhar Dās, the brother of Bithal Dās also earned promotions during this period. In 1642, his mansab was raised from 500/200 to 1000/400.<sup>2</sup> By the end of 1647, he had reached the rank of 1000/800.<sup>3</sup> In 1646, Siv Rām Gaur was served in the army of Prince Murād Bakhsh.<sup>4</sup> During this decade, however, he did not receive any increase in his mansab and stayed at his mansab of 1500/1000.<sup>5</sup> But in 1647, he was appointed to the important charge of qilādār of Kābul fort.<sup>6</sup> Another Gaur chief Kirpa Rām was promoted from 700/700 to 800/750.<sup>7</sup> Two new Gaur nobles Manohar Dās, brother of Rāja Bithal Dās, and Mukund Dās, son of Gopāl Dās were taken into imperial service with mansabs of 500/200<sup>8</sup> and 800/200 respectively.<sup>9</sup> In 1642, after the death of

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1. Lāhorī, II, p.733.

2. Ibid., p.301.

3. Ibid., p.733.

4. Ibid., p.484.

5. Ibid., p.730.

6. Ibid., p.641.

7. Ibid., p.739.

8. Ibid., p.750.

9. Ibid., p.741; See also Ranawat, M.S., Shah Jahan ke Hindi Mansabdār (Hindi), p.104.

Sangram Gaur, chief of Gunner, Morvi Gond, his official, deprived his son Bhupat from the succession and usurped himself. He also disowned the allegiance of the Mughals. Consequently, an expedition under the command of Khan-i Dauran was launched against him. Eventually, Morvi Gond was forced to submit to the Mughal forces.<sup>1</sup> But we do not find holding any mansab either of Bhupat or any successor of the deceased Raja Sangram who enjoyed the rank of 1500/600.<sup>2</sup>

The number of Sisodias in the Mughal service remained at five, but their mansabs went up from 8,700/6,800 to 11,700/8100.<sup>3</sup> The mansab of Rana Jagat Singh continued to stay at 5000/5000.<sup>4</sup> Shah Jahan continued to show favour to Rao Rai Singh, the son of his supporter, Maharaja Bhim. In 1642, Rao Rai Singh was sent with Prince Dara Shukoh on the Qandhar expedition.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, he was deputed with Saeed Khan Zafar Jang to crush the revolt of Jagat Singh of Mau.<sup>6</sup> He was promoted from 2000/500 to

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1. Lahori, II, pp.370-72; For details, see B.P. Saksena, History of Shah Jahan of Dihli, pp.121-22.
  2. Lahori, II, p.731.
  3. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
  4. Lahori, II, p.719.
  5. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, pp.299-301.
  6. Ibid., pp.299-301.

4000/2000 and deputed with Dara Shukoh on Qandhar expeditions.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, another Sisodia chief Sujan Singh continued to receive promotions in his mansab. In 1644, he was promoted from 800/300 to 1000/400.<sup>2</sup> In 1645, he was promoted to 1000/500 and next year, he was sent with Prince Murad Bakhsh on the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign.<sup>3</sup> By the end of 1647, Sujan Singh had acquired the mansab of 1500/500.<sup>4</sup> Two new Sisodia chiefs Narain Das and Hamir Singh were taken into imperial service with the mansabs of 700/300<sup>5</sup> and 500/300.<sup>6</sup> But Sisodia chiefs Shyam Singh and Gokul Das who held the mansabs of 1000/500 and 900/500<sup>7</sup> at the end of the previous decade are no longer heard of.

The number and mansabs of the Ghelet chief, who were the subordinate sardars of the Sisodia chief of Mewar, do not change. Rawal Punja of Dungarpur and Rawal Samarsi of Banswara continued

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1. Lahori, II, pp.294, 424.

2. Amal-i Salih, II, p.394; Ma'sir-ul Umara, II, pp.452-53.

3. Amal-i Salih, II, p.418.

4. Lahori, II, p.732.

5. Ibid., p.743.

6. Ibid., p.747.

7. Op. cit.

on their mansabs 1500/1500<sup>1</sup> and 1000/1000<sup>2</sup> respectively. Similarly, the mansab of the Chandrawat chief remained at 1500/1000. In 1644, after the death of Rao Hathi Singh who held the mansab of 1500/1000; his successor Rao Rup Singh was given the same mansab of 1500/1000.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the mansab of the chief of Sadri underwent an increase. In 1631, after the death of Har Das Jhala (500/200), his successor Rao Rai Singh was taken into service. By the end of 1647 A.D., he enjoyed the mansab of 1000/700.<sup>4</sup>

The number of Hada chiefs in the imperial service came down from four to three and their total zat mansab declined from 7,100 to 6,700 while their total suwar rank increased from 5,400 to 6,300.<sup>5</sup> There is no reference to Hirday Narain who held the mansab of 500/100.<sup>6</sup> Madho Singh who served the Mughals in the various expeditions received promotions in his suwar rank only.

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1. Lahori, II, p.729.

2. Ibid., p.732.

3. Ibid., p.730.

4. Ibid., p.733.

5. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.

6. Lahori, I, p.328.

In 1638, he was sent to Kābul with Prince Shuja.<sup>1</sup> In 1640, he served under Prince Murad in Kabul.<sup>2</sup> Next year, in 1641, Madho Singh's mansab was raised from 3000/2000 to 3000/2500.<sup>3</sup> Further, in 1643, he was promoted to 3000/3000.<sup>4</sup> Madho Singh distinguished himself in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign under Aurangzeb; he was appointed to guard the fort of Balkh.<sup>5</sup> By the end of 1647, he had acquired the rank of 3000/3000 with 2000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>6</sup>

Though Rāo Satrasal served in the campaigns of Qandhār and Balkh and Badakhshān under the command of Princes Dāra Shukh and Mūrad Bakhsh,<sup>7</sup> even then he did not receive any promotion during this period. In 1646, when Prince Mūrad Bakhsh came away from Balkh and Badakhshān, the Rao without permission retreated to Peshawar. This annoyed Shāh Jahān. Therefore, he continued on his previous mansab of 3000/3000.<sup>8</sup> But his brother Indrasāl's mansab was raised from 600/300 to 800/400.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Lāhorī, II, p.37; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.454-55.
  2. Lāhorī, II, pp.37, 217; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.454-55.
  3. Lāhorī, II, p.224.
  4. Ibid., p.308.
  5. Ibid., p.678.
  6. Ibid., p.722.
  7. Ibid., pp.293, 484; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.261-63.
  8. Lāhorī, II, p.633.
  9. Ibid., p.177; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.261-63.
  10. Lāhorī, II, p.740.

Both the number of mansabdars and the total of mansabs of the Bundila chiefs appear to have declined during the period from 1637 to 1647 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The number of the Bundila chiefs in the imperial service came down from five to three and then zat mansabs fell from 8500 to 7000. Their sawar ranks however went up from 5,600 to 7,800.<sup>1</sup> Pahar Singh continued to obtain favours from Shah Jahan, and he received promotions in his sawar rank. In 1642, when Champat Bundila, a retainer of Jujhar Singh rebelled, Pahar Singh was promoted from 3000/2000 to 3000/2000 with ~~1000~~<sup>1</sup> do aspa sih aspa<sup>2</sup> and deputed against him; Champat was forced to submit to Pahar Singh.<sup>3</sup> Further, in 1645, he was sent with Ali Mardan Khan to Badakhshan and in 1646, again Pahar Singh was included in the army of Prince Murad Bakhsh to Balkh and Badakhshan expeditions.<sup>4</sup> At this occasion, the mansab of Pahar Singh was increased by converting 1000 sawar into do aspa sih aspa (his rank now being 3000/3000 with 1000 do aspa sih aspa).<sup>5</sup> By the end of 1647, Pahar Singh had reached the still higher rank of 3000/3000 with 2000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
  2. Lahori, II, p.303.
  3. Ibidi Ma'mir-ul Umara, II, pp.257-60.
  4. Lahori, II, p.424.
  5. Amal-i Salih, III, p.112.
  6. Lahori, II, p.722.

On the other hand, Debi Singh Bundila who served under Prince Murad Bakhsh in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns<sup>1</sup> did not receive any promotion and his mansab remained unchanged at 2500/2000.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the mansab of Chandraman son of Bir Singh Deo remained static as 1500/800.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in 1641, after the death of Bir Singh's sons Bhagwan Das and Beni Das who held the mansabs of 1000/800<sup>4</sup> and 500/200<sup>5</sup>, none of their heirs was given any mansab.

The mansabs of Jadon clan declined for one reason or another. Their cumulative mansabs fell from 1000/600 to 500/400.<sup>6</sup> Nothing is known about Mukund Jadon, who had held the mansab of 500/300 in 1637.<sup>7</sup> The mansab of another Jadon chief Jagman of Karauli increased from 500/300 to just 500/400.<sup>8</sup> Some other chiefs belonging to central India received promotions in their

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.295-97.

2. Lahori, II, p.725.

3. Ibid., p.731.

4. Ibid., p.734.

5. Ibid., p.741.

6. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.

7. Lahori, I, p.327.

8. Ibid., II, p.747.

mansabs during this period. Rawat Dayal Das Jhala was promoted from 500/250 to 700/500.<sup>1</sup> Nahar Solanki of Nainwa was raised from 500/400 to 800/400.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that immediately upon the death of Mitrasen Tunwar of Gwalior in 1630, none of his heirs are known to have gained a mansab. But it seems that some time after Mitrasen's death, his son Kishan Singh was taken in the imperial service and in 1647 held the mansab of 500/500.<sup>3</sup>

During this decade (1637-1647 A.D.), the total mansabs of the Bhaduriyas declined from 2500/1000 to 1000/1000.<sup>4</sup> In 1644, after the death of Kishan Singh Bhaduriya (1000/600), his successor Raja Badan Singh who already held the mansab of 500/200 in 1637, was promoted to 1000/1000.<sup>5</sup> The mansab of Rai Ganesh Bhaduriya, who held the mansab of 1000/600<sup>6</sup> in 1637, is not recorded in the subsequent decade.

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1. Lāhorī, II, p.742.

2. Ibid., p.744.

3. Ibid., p.747.

4. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.

5. Lāhorī, II, p.732.

6. Op. cit.

The mansab of Bargujar chief, Raja Jai Ram received enhancements in this decade. In 1639, his mansab was increased from 1000/800 to 1000/1000.<sup>1</sup> Besides, his four sons were taken into imperial service, but it appears that they were assigned the mansabs<sup>2</sup> less than 500 zat as none of them is recorded holding mansab in the chronicles. Subsequently, Jai Ram was sent with Prince Murad Bakhsh to Kabul.<sup>3</sup> In 1646, when he was sent on the expedition of Balkh and Badakhshan with Prince Murad Bakhsh, his mansab was raised to 1500/1000.<sup>4</sup> When Balkh was occupied, he was sent in pursuit of Nazar Muhammad.<sup>5</sup> In recognition of his services, he was promoted to 1500/1000.<sup>6</sup> Further, his mansab was raised to 1500/1500.<sup>7</sup> Till his death in 1647, he rendered distinguished services in Balkh and had acquired the mansab of 2000/1500.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Lahori, II, pp.4. 146; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.241-42.

2. Lahori, II, p.4.

3. Ibid., pp.181, 226; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.241-42.

4. Lahori, II, p.473.

5. Ibid., p.550.

6. Ibid., p.554.

7. Ibid., p.595.

8. Ibid., pp.608, 727; See also Ma'asir-ul Umara, tr. I, p.731. Here, his suwar mansab is noted 500 which is obviously a slip.

In 1641, after the death of Chauhan chief Lakhmi Sen who held the mansab of 800/500,<sup>1</sup> his successor Chatrbhuj was given the lower mansab of 700/500.<sup>2</sup> But during this period, five fresh Chauhan chiefs were taken in the imperial service. In 1647, Pratap Chauhan held the mansab of 600/500.<sup>3</sup> Other Chauhan chiefs, namely, Ballu and his kinsmen Vaini Das and Sakat Singh enjoyed the mansabs of 500/300,<sup>4</sup> a 400/100<sup>5</sup> and 500/250<sup>6</sup> respectively. Ballu Chauhan rendered services in the campaigns of the North-west frontiers.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Chauhan Sonagra chief, Chatrbhuj was also admitted to the imperial service with a mansab of 700/500 some time before 1647 A.D.<sup>8</sup>

Among the hill Rajputs during this decade (1637-1647 A.D.), Jagat Singh Pundir did not receive any promotion in his mansab and continued on his mansab of 3000/2000.<sup>9</sup> But, on the other

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1. Lahori, II, p.314.

2. Ibid., p.742.

3. Ibid., p.743.

4. Ibid., p.747.

5. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, 234.

6. Lahori, II, p.748.

7. Ibid., p.485.

8. Ibid., p.742.

9. Ibid., p.724.

hand, important offices were assigned to him. In 1639, he was appointed the faujdar of Bangash.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, his son Rajrup was given the faujdar of Kangra valley.<sup>2</sup> In 1641, the office of faujdar of Kangra valley was transferred from Rajrup to Jagat Singh.<sup>3</sup> Upon condition of paying four lacs per annum to the imperial treasury, he was authorised to collect the peshkash from the other hill zamindars.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, Jagat Singh and Rajrup revolted but they were forced to submit.<sup>5</sup> Jagat Singh was taken into imperial service with the same mansab of 3000/2000.<sup>6</sup> Further, he was sent with Dara Shukoh to Qandhar where he was entrusted with the charge of the fort of Qalat.<sup>7</sup> In 1645, he was sent on the Badakhshan expeditions in which he rendered distinguished services.<sup>8</sup> In the Sarab and Andrab region he built a fort of timber.<sup>9</sup>. However, in 1645,<sup>10</sup> after Jagat Singh's

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.239-41.

2. Lahori, II, pp.127, 237.

3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.241-42.

4. Lahori, II, p.238.

5. Ibid., pp.237-39; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, III, pp.119-22.

6. Lahori, II, pp.269, 724, 291.

7. Ibid., pp.466, 467; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.241-42.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Lahori, II, pp.481-82.

death, his son Rajrup was given the mansab of 1500/1000 with the title of Raja. The mahals which were held by him as watan jagir were conferred upon him in inam.<sup>1</sup> He was also assigned the charge of the said timber fort.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, in reward of his distinguished services in the North-western frontier, his mansab was raised to 2000/1500.<sup>3</sup> By the end of 1647, he had acquired the rank of 2000/2000.<sup>4</sup> Besides, the strength of contingent against the mansab, he maintained five hundred horses and two thousand infantry. The payment of this extra contingent was made from the imperial treasury of Kabul.<sup>5</sup>

Here, it is important to note that after Jagat Singh's revolt, Shah Jahan readmitted him in the imperial service without any severe punishment. It seems that out of the following two considerations weighed with Shah Jahan for taking such a lenient attitude (a) During this period, Shah Jahan was facing the problem of the North-western frontier. Hill Rajputs being familiar with a severely cold climate were ideal soldiers for the Northwest. (b) Jagat Singh and his retainers could be used against other hill Rajputs, whose territories had not been properly subjugated.

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1. Lahori, II, pp.481-82.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.455.

4. Ibid., p.726.

5. Ibid., pp.481-82.

At the same time some of the other Rājput chiefs of the Punjāb hills rendered military service on the North-western frontier and they also played a role in quelling the revolt of Jagat Singh Pundīr. Yet one does not find any significant change in their position in the Mughal hierarchy. Mān Singh of Guler served with Prince Murād and Aurangzeb in the North-west and moreover, in 1641, he was sent against Jagat Singh Pundīr,<sup>1</sup> but he did not receive any further promotion. He continued on his previous mansab of 900/850.<sup>2</sup> Kunwar Sen of Kishtwar received a minor increase in his suwār rank, from 3 1000/300 to 1000/400.<sup>3</sup> Raja Prithvi Chand of Chambe, who distinguished against the revolt of Jagat Singh Pundīr, was taken in imperial service with the mansab of 1000/400 and the title of Rāja.<sup>4</sup> But in 1641, after the death of Chandra Bhān of Kangra who held the mansab of 500/300<sup>5</sup>, no mansab was granted to his successor.

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1. Lāhorī, II, pp.264, 266, 274.

2. Ibid., p.738.

3. Ibid., p.736.

4. Ibid., pp.273, 274, 276; Hutchison, pp.204-5.

5. Lāhorī, I, p.322; Hutchison, p.173.

### III

From Table 'C', it is evident that the total number as well as the total mansabs of the Rājput nobles continued to rise during the third decade of Shāh Jahān's reign. The number of the Rājput nobles increased from 71 to 80 and their total mansab strength went up from 95150/79880 to 1,23,150/1,03,530.<sup>1</sup>

Even during the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the Rāthor clan continued to enjoy the leading position among the Rājput clans. Their total number increased from 14 to 23, and their total mansabs went up from 20,000/16,950 to 28,950/24,230.<sup>2</sup> Among the Rāthors, the premier position was naturally enjoyed by the members of the Rāthor clan of Jodhpur. In number, they increased from 10 to 19 and their total mansabs rose from 15,300/14,300 to 24,050/20,575.<sup>3</sup> Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, who served with Princes Aurangzeb and Dāra Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions, was promoted from 5000/5000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa to 6000/5000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>4</sup> In 1654, he was raised to the mansab of 6000/6000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Compare the Tables 'B' and 'C'.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Wāris, pp.166-69, 202-5.

5. 'Amal-i Salih, III, p.69; Ma'āsir-ul Umara', II, pp.268-69.

In 1648, another senior noble Rup Singh was promoted from 2000/1000 to 2500/1200 and he was sent to Qandhar with Aurangzeb.<sup>1</sup> In 1649, he was raised to 3000/1500.<sup>2</sup> In 1652, when he was sent with Prince Dara Shukoh to Qandhar, he was promoted to 4000/2500.<sup>3</sup> In 1654, he was sent to Chittor against Rana Raj Singh and now again his mansab was raised to 4000/3000.<sup>4</sup>

In 1651, Rao Rai Singh was sent to Qandhar with Prince Aurangzeb and his mansab was increased from 1000/700 to 1500/800.<sup>5</sup> Further, Rai Singh served in the Qandhar and Chittor expeditions.<sup>6</sup> In 1655, Sulaiman Shukoh, eldest son of Dara Shukoh married the sister of Rao Rai Singh,<sup>7</sup> and in 1656, his rank was raised to 1500/1000.<sup>8</sup> The matrimonial alliance with Dara Shukoh's son was not without political considerations. As we know that Rao Rai Singh was dissatisfied with Shah Jahan on account of his father Amar Singh's death at the Mughal court.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that

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1. Amal-i Salih, III, p.69; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.268-69.

2. Ibid.

3. Waris, pp.202-5; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.268-6 70.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Waris, pp.202-5, 273-5; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.235-39.

7. Waris, p.481; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, p.730; Vir Vinod, II, pp.342-43.

8. Waris, p.262b; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.234-37.

9. Og. cit.

Sulaiman Shukoh's marriage with Rai Singh's sister was designed to assuage his feelings and restore the prestige of that branch of the Rathor house.

During this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), two more Rathor nobles Gordhan and Karsi Singh were promoted from 800/400 to 1000/500<sup>1</sup> and 500/100 to 600/200<sup>2</sup> respectively. Moreover, as indicated in the list 'C' of mansabdars ten new nobles were brought into imperial service; altogether they enjoyed an aggregate mansab of 2850/2430.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1647-1657, four Rathor nobles died. Out of these four, the descendants of two were taken into imperial service in the lower capacity. Prithvi Raj served with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions.<sup>4</sup> In 1654, he took part in the campaign against Rana Raj Singh of Mewar.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, he was appointed governor of Ajmer province.<sup>6</sup> Further, in 1656, he

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1. Waris, f.264b.

2. Waris, f.268b.

3. See, Appendix 'C'.

4. Waris, pp.166-69, 202-205.

5. Ibid., pp.273-75.

6. Ibid., pp.279-80; M. Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shah Jahan', Medieval India - A Miscellany, III, p.94.

was sent with Aurangzeb to the Deccan.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of these services, he did not receive any increase in his mansab, which continued to be 2000/2000.<sup>2</sup> However, at the time of his death in 1657, three kinsmen of his, Kesri Singh, Jagat Singh and Ram Singh held the mansabs of 600/200<sup>3</sup>, 700/300,<sup>4</sup> and 500/200<sup>5</sup> respectively.

During this decade (1647-1657), Shyam Singh who served with Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expedition was promoted to 3000/1500.<sup>6</sup> In 1647, he held the ~~the~~ office of the faujdar of Baglana.<sup>7</sup> But after his death in 1657, his son Uday Shan was taken in the imperial service with the lower mansab of 1000/500.<sup>8</sup>

Ratan Singh Rathor, after serving in the Qandhar, Mewar and Deccan expeditions, had acquired the status of 2000/2000.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Waris, pp.364-65.

2. Ibid., MS. f.261b.

3. Ibid., f.269a.

4. Ibid., f.267b.

5. Ibid., f.270a.

6. Ibid., f.260b.

7. Ibid., f.263b.

8. Ibid., f.263b.

9. Amal-i Salih, III, p.70 ; Ma'sir-ul Umara, II, pp.446-47.

But after his death in 1656, none of his heirs is known to have been granted a mansab. Similarly, in 1657, after <sup>the</sup> his death of Jai Singh who held the mansab of 500/150<sup>1</sup>, there is no record of any of his heirs holding any mansab.

The mansabs of the Rathor chiefs of Merta and Bikaner were also increased during this period. Udai Bhan, chief of Merta was promoted from 700/400 to 800/500.<sup>2</sup> In 1649, Rao Karan of Bikaner was raised from 2000/1500 to 2000/2000<sup>3</sup> and he was also appointed the qiladar of the Daulatabad fort.<sup>4</sup> Further, he was raised to the status of 3000/2000.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, a kinsman of his Banmali Das, son of Rao Karan was taken into imperial service with the mansab of 1000/100.<sup>6</sup>

However, Prince Aurangzeb was annoyed with Rao Karan owing to his negligence in attending the tula dan ceremony.<sup>7</sup> In 1654,

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1. Waris, f.270a.

2. Ibid., f.266a.

3. Ma'sair-ul Umara, II, pp.287-88.

4. Waris, p.126; Ma'sair-ul Umara, II, pp.287-88.

5. Waris, f.260b.

6. Vir Vined, p.373.

7. Prince Aurangzeb complained to Mirza Raja Jai Singh for not attending the tula dan ceremony by Rao Karan. The nishan is preserved in RSA Bikaner.

when Aurangzeb went to the Deccan, where the Rāo was already posted, his mansab was curtailed.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, in 1655, when Aurangzeb made tajwiz to raise Rāo Karan's mansab, Shāh Jahān turned it down.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the Kachawāha clan, it is interesting to note that the number of the Kachawāha nobles in the imperial service was reduced from eighteen to fourteen while their mansab strength increased marginally from 17,700/16000 to 18700/18500.<sup>3</sup> The number of the Rajawat nobles came down from thirteen to nine but their total mansabs increased from 14,000/13200 to 15000/16000.<sup>4</sup> During this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), five Rajawat nobles died, namely, Sangrām, Mathura Dās, Ugar Sen, Prithvi Rāj, and Kishan Singh who together held mansabs of 2,900/1500.<sup>5</sup> While on the other hand, two fresh Rajawat nobles Kirat Singh and Mahru, sons of Rāja Jai Singh were admitted into imperial service with the mansabs of 1000/900<sup>6</sup> and 900/300.<sup>7</sup> Among the fresh recruits,

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1. Aurangzeb's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner; Ma'ba'ir-ul-Umarā, II, 287-90.
  2. Kādab-i 'Ālamgīrī, MS. ff.37b, 38a; Ruggāt-i 'Ālamgīrī, 114-115.
  3. Compare Tables 'B' and 'C'.
  4. See the mansab list 'C'.
  5. Wāris, f.267a; p.218. About Sangram, Prithvi Rāj and Kishan who held the mansabs of 700/500, 500/250 and 500/250 is nothing known.
  6. Wāris, f.263b.
  7. Vir Vīrog, p.374.

Kirat Singh was treated with particular favour. In 1651, he was appointed the faujdar of sarkar of Mewat.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, he was also assigned pargana Kama Pahari for his watan jagir.<sup>2</sup>

Four senior Rajawat nobles earned promotions after rendering services in the different expeditions. In 1648, Raja Jai Singh was sent to Balkh with Prince Aurangzeb.<sup>3</sup> In 1649, his mansab was raised from 5000/5000 with 2000 do aspa sih aspa to 5000/5000 with 3000 do aspa sih aspa, and he was directed to proceed to Qandhar with Prince Aurangzeb.<sup>4</sup> After the failure of that expedition, Jai Singh along with Prince Aurangzeb came to court. At this time, he is known to have held the office<sup>or</sup> faujdar of Delhi.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, he was appointed to pacify the Mewat region.<sup>6</sup> Thereupon performing meritorious services, he was rewarded with the promotion of 5000/5000 with 4000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>7</sup> Later on, Jai Singh served in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions<sup>8</sup>, but

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1. Farmans, Nishans and Manshurs, N.77; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.156-58; Syed Nurul Hasan, 'Further Light on Zamindars under the Mughals - A Case Study of Mirza Raja Jai Singh under Shah Jahan', PIHC, 1979, p.501.
  2. Waris, p.138; Khafi Khan, III, p.701; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, p.156.
  3. Waris, pp.74-76.
  4. Ibid., pp.84-95; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp.570-75.
  5. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, III, p.118.
  6. Ibid..
  7. Waris, p.259a.
  8. Ibid., pp.202-205, 276.

he did not receive any increment in mansab. His eldest son Ram Singh's mansab was, however, raised from 1000/1000 to 3000/2000.<sup>1</sup>

Amar Singh Narwari, who served with Princes Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in Qandhar<sup>2</sup> had his mansab raised from 1000/600 to 1500/1000.<sup>3</sup> Other Rajawat nobles Jay Ram and Ajab Singh were promoted from 900/600 to 1000/800<sup>4</sup> and 800/300 to 800/400.<sup>5</sup> However, the mansabs of the two Rajawat nobles Gopal Singh and Ugar Sen remained static as 1000/1000 and 800/600.<sup>6</sup>

The number of Kachawaha nobles other than Rajawats was reduced from six to five and their total mansab strength decreased from 4,300/2900 to 3700/2500.<sup>7</sup> But it is interesting to note that while the number as well as the mansabs of the Shaikhawat nobles came down, the number as well as the mansabs of the Naruka nobles underwent an increase. The number of the Shaikhawat nobles came down from five to two and their total

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1. Waris, f.260b.
  2. Ibid., pp.74-76, 202-05.
  3. Ibid., f.262b.
  4. Ibid., f.263b.
  5. Ibid., f.266b.
  6. Ibid., ff.263b, 266a.
  7. See, mansab list 'C'.

mansab from 3,600/2400 to 1,800/1300.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is recorded during this decade, about the mansabs of three Shaikhawat nobles Tilok Chand, Pem Chand and Kanhi who previously held the mansabs of 1000/500,<sup>2</sup> 600/400<sup>3</sup> and 500/200<sup>4</sup>. No fresh recruitment is known to have taken place from the Shaikhawat clan. Of the two remaining senior Shaikhawat nobles, Bhoj Rāj was promoted from 700/500 to 1000/500.<sup>5</sup> But the mansab of Nar Singh Dās remained static as 800/800.<sup>6</sup>

In the Naruka clan, one notices that two fresh nobles, Fateh Singh and Hari Singh were taken in the imperial service with the mansabs of 700/300<sup>7</sup> and 500/300.<sup>8</sup> But Chandra Bhan Naruka did not receive any promotion and he continued on his mansab of 700/500.<sup>9</sup>

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1. See, mansab list 'C'.
  2. Lāhorī, II, p.735.
  3. Ibid., p.745.
  4. Ibid., pp.750-51.
  5. Waris, f.264b.
  6. Ibid., f.265b.
  7. Ibid., f.268a.
  8. Ibid., f.269a.
  9. Ibid., f.267a.

The fortunes of the members of the Gaur family continued to rise. Their number increased from eight to twelve and their total mansas pushed up from 12,100/9,650 to 14,100/11700.<sup>1</sup>

In 1647, Bithal Das Gaur was promoted from 5000/4000 to 5000/5000 with 1000 do aspa sih aspa, and he was sent to Kabul.<sup>2</sup> In 1649, he was raised to the status of 5000/5000 with 2000 do aspa sih aspa, and deputed with Prince Aurangzeb on the Qandhar expedition.<sup>3</sup> In 1651, after the death of Bithal Das, his eldest son Anirudh was promoted from 1500/1000 to 3000/3000 with 2000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>4</sup> The title of Raja was also conferred upon him.<sup>5</sup> In addition, he was appointed the qiladar of the fort of Ranthambhor<sup>6</sup> in succession to his father. Bithal Das' second son Arjun was promoted from 1000/700 to 1000/1000.<sup>7</sup> In 1651, Arjun was sent to Qandhar with Prince Aurangzeb and his mansas was raised to 2000/1500.<sup>8</sup> Shim and Harjas, two other sons of ... Raja Bithal Das,

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1. See, Tables 'B' and 'C'.

2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.252-54.

3. Waris, p.259a, pp.74-76; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.252-55.

4. Waris, p.260a; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.276-77.

5. Waris, pp.154-55; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.276-77.

6. Waris, pp.154-55.

7. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.253-57.

8. Waris, p.261b, pp.166-69.

were taken into imperial service with mansabs of 1000/400<sup>1</sup> and 500/200.<sup>2</sup> Bithal Das' brothers Bhaq Singh, Bahram S and Ra-nchor were also granted the mansabs of 500/200,<sup>3</sup> 500/200<sup>4</sup> and 500/150<sup>5</sup> respectively.

Three other senior Gaur nobles earned promotions during this period. Girdhar Das, who served in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions, was raised from 1000/800 to 2000/2000.<sup>6</sup> In 1655, Girdhar Das was appointed the qiladar of Agra fort.<sup>7</sup> In 1657, when Girdhar Das was made the faujdar of Agra, his son Parduman was appointed the qiladar of Agra fort.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, his second son Harjan was taken into imperial service with the mansab of 500/300.<sup>9</sup>

Another noble Siv Ram who served in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions, was promoted from 1500/1000 to 2000/1500.<sup>10</sup> In 1648

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1. Waris, f.264b.

2. Ibid., f.269b.

3. Ibid., f.269b.

4. Ibid., f.270a.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., pp.166-69, 273-75, f.261a.

8. Ibid., pp.318-19, 366-67.

9. Ibid., f.269a.

10. Ibid., pp.74-76, 166-69, 273-75, f.269a.

he held the office of the qiladar of Kabul.<sup>1</sup> He was also honoured with the title of Raja.<sup>2</sup> Mahesh Das Gaur's mansab was also raised from 500/200 to 800/400;<sup>3</sup> and in 1652 he was appointed the qiladar of Asirgarh.<sup>4</sup> Only Kirpa Ram Gaur did not receive any promotion in his mansab, and continued on his mansab of 800/750.<sup>5</sup>

The numerical as well as the mansab strength of Sieodias increased substantially. Their number doubled from five to ten and their mansab figures went up from 11,700/8100 to 21,200/12300.<sup>6</sup>

In October 1652, after the death of Rana Jagat Singh who held the mansab of 5000/5000, his heir-apparent Raj Singh was given the same mansab of 5000/5000 with the hereditary title of Rana.<sup>7</sup> In 1654, Rana Raj Singh rebelled but after his submission, his mansab of 5000/5000 was restored to him.<sup>8</sup> But he lost a certain amount of territory, so that although his rank remained the same, his income certainly was reduced.

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1. Waris, p.6; Ma'sir-ul Umara, II, pp.263-65.
  2. Amal-i Salih, III, p.133.
  3. Waris, p.266a.
  4. Ibid., p.194.
  5. Ibid., p.266a.
  6. See Tables 'B' and 'C'.
  7. Waris, p.25a.
  8. Ibid.; Ma'sir-ul Umara, II, pp.206-8.

Rai Singh Sisodia who was one of the favourites of Shah Jahan, rendered his services in the Balkh and Badakhshan, Qandhar and Mewar expeditions.<sup>1</sup> When he distinguished himself in the Qandhar expeditions, he was raised to 5000/2500 from 4000/2000.<sup>2</sup> Sujan Singh Sisodia who served in the Qandhar expeditions was promoted from 1500/500 to 2000/800.<sup>3</sup> His son Fateh Singh was also taken into imperial service with the mansab of 500/200.<sup>4</sup> Sujan Singh's brother Biram Deo who served in the Qandhar expeditions succeeded in rising to a mansab of 3000/1000.<sup>5</sup> Another Sisodia noble Sabal Singh who was taken into service during this period and served in the Qandhar expeditions and reached the rank of 2500/500.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Sunder Das and Sultan Sisodia, who also took part in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions held the mansabs of 700/300<sup>7</sup> and 500/100<sup>8</sup> respectively. Garib Das and Channa Sisodia enjoyed the mansab of 1500/700<sup>9</sup> and 500/200.<sup>10</sup>

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1. Amal-i Salih, III, pp.71, 100; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 295-99.
  2. Waris, p.276; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.295-99.
  3. Waris, pp.74-76, 90-91, 166-69, f.261a.
  4. Ibid., f.270a.
  5. Ibid., f.261a.
  6. Ibid., f.261a.
  7. Ibid., pp.276, 213. See also Ranawat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars, p.35.
  8. Waris, f.270b.
  9. Ibid., p.204. See also Ranawat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars, p.31.
  10. Waris, f.270a.

On the other hand two Sisodia nobles namely Narain Dās and Hamir Singh who held the mansabs of 700/300<sup>1</sup> and 500/300<sup>2</sup> died, it is not clear whether any parts of these mansabs were passed on to their heirs.

It is interesting to note that during this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the subordinates of the Rāna of Mewār, who had joined imperial service, improved their positions - Rāo Rup Singh Chandrawat, who held the mansab of 1500/1000 in 1647 A.D. was promoted to the mansab of 2000/1240.<sup>3</sup> After his death, in 1651, his son Rāo Amar Singh was taken in the imperial service. Amar Singh served in the Qandhār expeditions and acquired the rank of 2000/1000.<sup>4</sup>

During this period (1647-1657 A.D.), the total mansabs of the Ghelot chiefs increased marginally from 2500<sup>5</sup> to 3100/3100.<sup>5</sup> The mansabs of Rāwal Punja of Dungarpur and Rāwal Samarsī of

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1. Wāris, f.267a.

2. Lāhorī, II, p.747. About Hamir Singh, nothing is known.

3. Wāris, p.202; Ranawat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars, p.30.

4. Wāris, pp.202-05; f.262a.

5. See, Tables 'B' and 'C'.

Banswara remained stationary as 1500/1500<sup>1</sup> and 1000/1000<sup>2</sup> respectively. But the Chandrawat chief Girdhar Das, son of Rawal Punja/for the first time taken into imperial service with the <sup>was</sup> mansab of 600/600.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Jhala chiefs also improved their positions marginally. The mansab of Rai Singh Jhala remained unchanged at 1000/700.<sup>4</sup> But Rawat Dayal Das Jhala's brother Barsa was taken into the imperial service with the mansab of 500/250.<sup>5</sup> The mansab of another Jhala noble, Rawat Dayal Das who served in the Qandhar expeditions was, however, increased from 700/500 to 900/500.<sup>6</sup>

The Bundila chiefs, who had suffered a decline in number as well as total mansabs in the end of the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign, improved their positions in the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.). Their number doubled from three to six and their total mansab went up from 7000/7800 to 8000/10200.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Waris, f.262b.
  2. Ibid., f.263b.
  3. Ibid., f.268a; pp.74-76, 166-69, 273-75.
  4. Ibid., f.263b.
  5. Ibid., p.217; Ranawat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars, pp.37, 95, 108.
  6. Ibid., f.265b; pp.166-69, 202-05.
  7. Compare Tables 'B' and 'C'.

Pahar Singh Bundila, who served in the Qandhar expeditions under Aurangzeb in 1649,<sup>1</sup> was promoted from 3000/3000 with 2000 do aspa sih aspa to 4000/3000 with 3000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>2</sup> In 1652, Pahar Singh also served with Prince Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions.<sup>3</sup> But till his death in 1654, he did not receive further promotion.<sup>4</sup> After his death, his son Sujan Singh was promoted to 2000/2000 with do as-pa sih aspa.<sup>5</sup> The title of Raja was also conferred upon him.<sup>6</sup> In 1656, he served with Qasim Khan against Prithvi Singh of Srinagar-Garhwal.<sup>7</sup> Afterwards, he was sent to the Deccan to serve under Prince Aurangzeb.<sup>8</sup> After Pahar Singh's death his second son Indraman was also taken into imperial service with a mansab of 500/200.<sup>9</sup> Indraman also served in the campaign against Prithvi Singh of Srinagar-Garhwal<sup>10</sup>

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1. Waris, pp.74-76, 95-96.

2. Ibid., p.198, See also Ranawat, Shah Jahan ka Hindu Mansabdars, p.27; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.256-260.

3. Waris, pp.202-205.

4. Waris, p.198; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.258-260.

5. Waris, f.261a.

6. Amal-i Salih, III, p.197; Waris, f.199a.

7. Waris, pp.320-21.

8. Ibid., pp.363-65.

9. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.258-60.

10. Waris, pp.320-21.

and he was subsequently promoted to 500/400.<sup>1</sup> Two of Pahar Singh's brothers Puran Mal and Chandra Bundila who served with Prince Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expeditions<sup>2</sup> enjoyed the mansabs of 1500/1500<sup>3</sup> and 1500/800<sup>4</sup> respectively.

It seems that during the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the zat mansab of Debi Singh Bundila was reduced from 2500 to 2000 zat,<sup>5</sup> while his suwar rank was enhanced from 2000 to 3000.<sup>6</sup> But after his participation in the Qandhar expeditions with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh,<sup>7</sup> he was appointed the faujdar of sarkar of Bhilsa in the suba of Malwa.<sup>8</sup> Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, Champat Bundila, who did not belong to the Bundila royal family of Orchha, was taken in the imperial service with the mansab of 500/500.<sup>9</sup>

During the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), there was no substantial change in the position of the Hada nobles. Their

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1. Waris, p.269a.
  2. Waris, pp.75-76, 95-96, 202-205.
  3. Ibid., p.262b.
  4. Ibid., p.204; Ranawat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars, p.31.
  5. Lohori, II, p.725; Waris, p.261b.
  6. Ibid.
  7. Waris, pp.75-76, 95-96, 202-205.
  8. Ibid., p.282.
  9. Ibid., p.269a.

number in the imperial service remained at three. The total zat mansabs of the three Hada nobles increased from 6,800 to 7800, but their suwar rank remained unchanged at 6400.<sup>1</sup>

In 1648, when Rao Satrasal Hada distinguished himself in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns,<sup>2</sup> and he was promoted from 3000/3000 to 3500/3500.<sup>3</sup> He was subsequently sent to Qandhar with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh.<sup>4</sup> In 1656, Satrasal was sent to the Deccan to serve under Aurangzeb.<sup>5</sup> There he performed distinguished service,<sup>6</sup> so that towards the end of the decade, he held the mansab of 4000/4000.<sup>7</sup>

In 1648, after the death of Madho Singh who held the mansab of 3000/3000,<sup>8</sup> his son Mukund Singh was assigned the mansab of 2000/1500.<sup>9</sup> In the same year, he was promoted to 2000/2000.<sup>10</sup>

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1. Compare Tables 'B' and 'C'.
  2. Waris, pp.74-76, 94-95; Ma'sair-ul Umara, II, pp.261-63.
  3. Amal-i Salih, III, p.71.
  4. Waris, pp.202-05; Ma'sair-ul Umara, II, pp.261-62.
  5. Ma'sair-ul Umara, II, pp.262-63.
  6. Ibid.
  7. Waris, f.259b.
  8. Ibid., f.260a.
  9. Ma'sair-ul Umara, III, pp.509-10.
  10. Ibid.

After serving with Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expeditions, he was promoted to 2500/2000.<sup>1</sup> In 1654, after he had served in the Qandhar expedition under Dara Shukoh, he was promoted to 3000/2000.<sup>2</sup> Upon Madho Singh's death, his younger son Mohan Singh was also taken into imperial service and given the mansab of 800/400.<sup>3</sup> Another Hada noble Indrasal, who held the mansab of 800/400, died in 1651.<sup>4</sup> After his death none of his heirs is known to have taken into imperial service.

The mansabs of the Bhaduriya and Bargujar chiefs declined because of the deaths of some senior nobles during this period. Badan Singh Bhaduriya who served with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions<sup>5</sup> rose to the rank of 1500/1400.<sup>6</sup> But in 1654, after his death, his son, Maha Singh was assigned the lower mansab of 1000/800 with the title of Raja.<sup>7</sup> Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, he was promoted to 1000/1000 and

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp.509-10.
  2. Waris, pp.202-05; f.260b; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp.509-10.
  3. Waris, f.266a.
  4. Ibid., f.266a.
  5. Ibid., pp.75-76, 202, 205; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.228-30.
  6. Waris, ff.122b, 170b.
  7. Ibid., f.170b; Amal-i Salih, III, p.465.

appointed the faujdar of Khanwa.<sup>1</sup> In 1648, after the death of Rāja Jai Rām Bargujar who held the mansab of 2000/1500,<sup>2</sup> his son Amar Singh was given the mansab of 500/500 only with the title of Raja.<sup>3</sup>

Chauhan chiefs Chatrbhuj and Ballu served with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar campaigns<sup>4</sup> and in reward of their services, their mansabs were increased. Chatrbhuj was promoted from 700/500 to 1500/1500 with do aspa sih aspa.<sup>5</sup> In 1654, the pargana Dun was assigned to him as his wātan jaqir.<sup>6</sup> Another senior Chauhan noble Ballu who also served in the Qandhar expeditions was promoted from 500/300 to 700/300.<sup>7</sup> But Ballu's son, Sakat Singh who served in the Qandhar expeditions<sup>8</sup> and held the mansab of 500/250<sup>9</sup> is not mentioned as mansabdār in the mansab lists of Wāris and Sālih Kambū. Nothing too is known

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1. 'Ālamqirnāma, p.240; 'Amal-i Sālih, III, p.465.

2. Lāhorī, II, p.608; Wāris, p.13.

3. Wāris, p.13; 'Amal-i Sālih, III, p.481.

4. Wāris, pp.74-76, 202-05.

5. Wāris, f.262b.

6. Ibid., p.302.

7. Ibid., pp.74-76, 202-05; f.267a.

8. Ibid., pp.74-76, 202-05.

9. Lāhorī, II, p.748.

about the mansabs of Pratap and Vaini Das who previously enjoyed the mansabs of 600/500<sup>1</sup> and 400/100.<sup>2</sup>

During this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the mansabs of Kishan Singh Tunwar and Chatrbhuj Songar who served in the Qandhar expeditions<sup>3</sup> were enhanced from 500/500 to 1000/500<sup>4</sup> and from 500/500 to 600/600.<sup>5</sup> But the Jadon chief Jagman who also served in the Qandhar campaigns<sup>6</sup> did not receive any promotion and his mansab remained unchanged at 500/400 till his death in 1657 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

We have no information of mansabs held by Baghela and Bhati chiefs previous to this decade. Perhaps, they held mansabs of less than 500 zat which were not included in the mansab lists of Lahori and Waris. But in Shah Jahan's third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), Baghela and Bhati chiefs enjoyed high mansabs. Anup Singh Baghela and his son Fateh Singh held the mansabs of 3000/2000 + 1000 do aspa sih aspa<sup>8</sup> and 500/200<sup>9</sup>

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1. Lahori, II, p.745.

2. Muhta Nainsi-re Khyat, I, p.234.

3. Waris, pp.74-76, 202-05.

4. Ibid., f.264b.

5. Ibid., f.268a.

6. Ibid., pp.74-76, 202-05.

7. Ibid., f.269a.

8. Ibid., f.260a.

9. Ibid., f.270a.

respectively. Sabal Singh Bhati and Prithvi Raj Bhati enjoyed the mansabs of 1000/700<sup>1</sup> and 700/300.<sup>2</sup>

Among the hill Rajput chiefs, Katoch chief Raja Rajrup of Mau continued to enjoy a predominant position. Rajrup served with Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expeditions.<sup>3</sup> In 1650, after his performance in battle, Rajrup was promoted from 2000/2000 to 2500/2500.<sup>4</sup> He was also appointed qiladar of the Kahlward fort.<sup>5</sup> Again, in 1652, he was promoted to 3000/2500.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, he served with Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expedition but did not receive any further promotion.<sup>7</sup>

Prithvi Raj of Chamba and Raja Man Singh of Guler did not earn any promotion in their mansabs during this period. These chiefs are not known to have participated in any of the Qandhar, Mewar or Srinagar-Garhwal expeditions. Therefore, Prithvi Raj and Man Singh continued on their mansabs of 1000/400<sup>8</sup> and 900/850.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Waris, f.264a.

2. Ibid., f.267a.

3. Ibid., pp.74-76, 22n 94-95.

4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.278-80.

5. Ibid.

6. Waris, f.260a; Amal-i Salih, III, p.140.

7. Waris, pp.202-03; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.278-79.

8. Waris, f.264b.

9. Ibid., f.265a.

Upon the revolt of Prithvi Singh of Srinagar-Garhwal, Shah Jahan called upon the Kumaun chief Rai Tilok Chand to help in the rebellion; and he was assigned the mansab of 800/400.<sup>1</sup>

In September 1654, after the death of Sangram Singh, the chief of Jammu, who held the mansab of 1500/1000,<sup>2</sup> his heir Sarangdhar was assigned a mansab of 700/500<sup>3</sup> only. Moreover, at the time of his death Sangram Singh was the faujdar of Burhanpur.<sup>4</sup> Sarangdhar was only favoured with the post of the thanaedar of Manjrodeh in the Deccan.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, it emerges that throughout Shah Jahan's reign, the total number as well as the total mansabs of the Rajput nobles increased considerably. In the first decade of Emperor Shah Jahan's reign, the Rathor, Gaur, Kachawaha and Sisodia nobles who sided with the Emperor in his rebellion were rewarded by promotions. Besides, new Rajput chiefs were also recruited in the Mughal service. The revolts of Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Jujhar Singh Bundila prompted Shah Jahan to keep the Rajput nobles in

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1. Waris, f.266a.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.314.

3. Waris, f.267a.

4. Ibid., p.276.

5. Ibid.

good humour. Shāh Jahān also sought to attach his favourite Rājput nobles to himself by conferring new watan-jāgīrs upon them. Moreover, important offices such as sūbadār, faujdār and qilādār were assigned to them. But the position of Bundila and Hāda nobles, who opposed Shāh Jahān in the rebellion, suffered radically.

The visible rise in the number and mansab of the Rājput nobles in the second and third decades of Shāh Jahān's reign is explained in light of the Balkh, Qandhār and Mewār expeditions. The large mansab enhancement at the end of third decade (1656 A.D.) does coincide with the wars of Bijāpur and Golconda. This rising fortunes might also be due to the fact that Dārā Shukh wanted to secure their loyalty to his cause. However, in the next chapter, we shall see how far the Rājput chiefs who were favoured by Shāh Jahān stood firmly with him in the war of succession.

Table 'A'

MANSABS OF THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1637 A.D.

S.No.	Clan	Number of Nobles	Mansabs
1.	Rathor	14	19,650/15,180
2.	Kachawaha	12	13,300/ 9,200
3.	Sisodia	5	10,700/ 7,300
4.	Gaur	5	8,200/ 5,500
5.	Bundela	5	8,500/ 5,600
6.	Bhaduriya	3	2,500/ 1,400
7.	Hara	4	7,100/ 5,400
8.	Ghelot	2	2,500/ 2,500
9.	Jadon	2	1,000/ 600
10.	Katoch	2	1,300/ 1,150
11.	Bargujar	1	1,000/ 800
12.	Chandrawat	1	1,500/ 1,000
13.	Chauhan	1	800/ 500
14.	Jhala	1	500/ 250
15.	Pundir	1	3,000/ 2,000
16.	Sodha	1	800/ 300
17.	Sena	1	1,000/ 300
18.	Solanki	1	500/ 400
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	Total	62	84,350/59,780
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Table 'B'

MANSABS OF THE RAJPUT CLANS IN 1647 A.D.

S.No.	Clan	Number of Nobles	<u>Mansabs</u>	
			<u>Zat</u>	<u>Sywar</u>
1.	Rathor	14	20,000	16,950
2.	Kachawaha	18	17,700	16,000
3.	Gaur	8	12,100	9,650
4.	Sisodia	5	11,700	8,100
5.	Chauhan	5	2,450	1,430
6.	Bundila	3	7,000	7,800
7.	Hara	3	6,800	6,400
8.	Ghelot	2	2,500	2,500
9.	Jhala	2	1,700	1,100
10.	Bargujar	1	2,000	1,500
11.	Bhaduriya	1	1,000	1,000
12.	Chandrawat	1	1,500	1,000
13.	Katoch	1	900	850
14.	Pundir	1	2,000	2,000
15.	Surajbansi	1	1,000	400
16.	Sena	1	1,000	400
17.	Solanki	1	800	400
18.	Jadon	1	500	400
19.	Sengar	1	500	500
20.	Tunwar	1	500	500
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Total		71	92,150	74,480
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Table 'C'

MANSABS OF THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1657 A.D.

S.No.	Clan	Number of Nobles	<u>Mansab</u>	
			<u>Zāt</u>	<u>Suywar</u>
1.	Rathor	23	28,950	24,230
2.	Kachawaha	14	18,700	18,500
3.	Gaur	12	14,100	11,700
4.	Bundela	6	8,000	10,200
5.	Sisodia	10	21,200	12,300
6.	Hara	3	7,800	6,400
7.	Ghelot	3	3,100	3,100
8.	Baghela	2	3,500	3,200
9.	Bhati	2	1,700	1,100
10.	Chauhan	2	2,200	3,300
11.	Jhala	3	2,400	1,450
12.	Bhaduriya	1	1,000	800
13.	Pundir	1	3,000	2,500
14.	Tunwar	1	1,000	500
15.	Bargujar	1	500	500
16.	Jamwal	1	700	500
17.	Katech	1	900	850
18.	Surajbansi	1	1,000	400
19.	Sembansi	1	800	400
20.	Sengar	1	600	600
21.	Chandrawat	1	2,000	1,000
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<hr/>		Total	90	123,150 103,530
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Appendix 'A'

MANSABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1637 A.D.

BARGUJARS

S.No.	Name	<u>Mansab</u>	Reference
1.	Jay Ram s/o Ani Rai Singh	1000/800	Lahori, I, 308.

BHADURIYAS

1.	Badan Singh	500/200	Lahori, I, 324.
2.	Kishan Singh	1000/600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 309.
3.	Rai Ganesh	1000/600	<u>Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign</u> , 29.

BUNDILAS

1.	Raja Debi Singh s/o Raja Bhartiya	2500/2000	Lahori, I, 300.
2.	Chandraman	1500/800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 306.
3.	Bhogwan Das s/o Bir Singh Deo	1000/600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 309.
4.	Beni Das s/o Bir Singh Deo	500/200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 324.
5.	Pahar Singh s/o Bir Singh Deo	3000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 205.

CHANDRAWAT

1.	Rao Mathi Singh s/o Rao Duda	1500/1000	Lahori, I, 305.
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CHAUHANS

1. Lakhmi Sen,  
zamindar of Ajaun      800/500      Lahori, I, 314.

GAURS

1. Raja Bethal Das      4000/3000      Lahori, I, 296.  
2. Siv Ram s/o  
Bal Ram      1500/1000      Ibid., 305.  
3. Sangram, zamindar  
of Gannur      1500/600      Ibid., 306; Ranawat, 19.  
4. Kirpa Ram Gaur      700/700      Lahori, I, 316.  
5. Girdhar Das b/o  
Raja Bethal Das      500/200      Ibid., 324.

SISODIAS

1. Rana Jagat  
Singh Sisodia      5000/5000      Lahori, I, 294.  
2. Raja Rai Singh  
s/o Maharaja  
Bhim Singh      3000/1500      Ibid., 299.  
3. Shyam Singh      1000/ 500      Ibid., 310.  
4. Gokul Das      900/ 500      Ibid., 312.  
5. Sujan Singh      800/ 300      Ibid., 315.

RATHORS

1. Raja Gaj Singh      5000/5000      Lahori, I, 294.  
2. Amaz Singh s/o  
Gaj Singh      3000/2000      Ibid., 298.

contd...

3.	Prithvi Raj Rathor	2000/1700	Lahori, I, 301.
4.	Rao Karan s/o Rao Sur Bhurtya	2000/1500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 302.
5.	Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh	1000/ 800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 308.
6.	Sabal Singh s/o Raja Suraj Singh	900/ 800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 312.
7.	Mahesh Das s/o Dalpat Rathor	800/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 313.
8.	Jagannath Rathor b/o Karamsi	700/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 317.
9.	Shyam Singh s/o Karamsi	600/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 319.
10.	Satrasal s/o Rao Sur Bhurtya	700/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 316.
11.	Raja Udai Bhan s/o Raja Girdhar	600/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 319; <u>B.K.</u> , 178.
12.	Bhim Rathor	1500/ 800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 306.
13.	Nand Ram s/o Karam Sen	300/ 100	<u>Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign</u> , 32.
14.	Mahesh s/o Karam Sen	250/ 80	<u>Ibid.</u>

#### GEHLOTS

1.	Rawal Punja, <u>zamindar of</u> Dungarpur	1500/1500	Lahori, I, 304.
2.	Rawal Samarsai, <u>zamindar of</u> Banswara	1000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 307.

HADAS

1.	Rao Satreal g/o Rao Ratan	3000/3000	Lahori, I, 297
2.	Madho Singh s/o Rao Ratan	3000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 298.
3.	Hirday Narain	500/ 100	<u>Ibid.</u> , 328.
4.	Indrasal g/o Rao Ratan	600/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 320.

JADONS

1.	Raja Jagman	500/300	Lahori, I, 322.
2.	Mukand	500/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 323.

JHALAS

1.	Rawat Dayal Das	500/250	Lahori, I, 323.
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KACHAWAHAS

1.	Raja Jai Singh	5000/3000	Lahori, I, 294.
2.	Ugar Sen(Shaikhawat)	800/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 314
3.	Har Ram s/o Bhagwan Das	700/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 317
4.	Rup Singh	700/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	Ugar Sen s/o Satreal	600/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 319.
6.	Mathura Das	500/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 322.
7.	Tilok Chand g/o Rai Manohar (Shaikhawat)	800/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 314.

contd...

8.	Bhej Raj s/o Rai Sal Darbari (Shaikhawat)	800/400	Lāhorī, I, 314.
9.	Nar Singh Das s/o Dwarka Das (Shai- Khawat)	500/400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 322.
10.	Gopal Singh s/o Raja Manrup	900/600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 312.
11.	Chandra Bhan Nanekā	500/400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 322.
12.	Ram Das Narwari	2000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , I, pp.83, 303; died in the 13th R.Y.; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 226-28

KATOCHS

1.	Chandra Bhan <u>zamin-</u> <u>dār</u> of Kangra	500/300	Lāhorī, I, 322.
2.	Raja Man Singh	900/850	<u>Ibid.</u> , 312.

PUNDIRS

1.	Raja Jagat Singh s/o Raja Baso	3000/2000	Lāhorī, I, 298.
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SODHAS

1.	Rana Jodha, <u>zamin-</u> <u>dār</u> of Amarket	800/ 300	Lāhorī, I, 315.
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SENA CHANDRABANSIS

1.	Raja Kunwar Son of Kishhtwar	1000/300	Lāhorī, I, 311.
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SOLANKIS

1.	Nahar Solanki	500/400	Lāhorī, I, 322.
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**Appendix 'B'**

**MANSABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1647 A.D.**

**BARGŪJARS**

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Reference
1.	Rāja Jai Rām	2000/1500	Lāherī, II, 727.

**BHADURIYAS**

1.	Rāja Badan Singh	1000/1000	Lāherī, II, 732.
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**BUNDILAS**

1.	Rāja Pahār Singh s/o Bir Singh Deo	3000/3000 2000 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	Lāherī, II, 722.
2.	Rāja DabI Singh s/o Bhartiya Bundila	2500/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 725.
3.	Chandraman	1500/ 800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 731.

**CHANDRAWATS**

1.	Rāo Roop Singh	1500/1000	Lāherī, II, 730.
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**CHAUHĀNS**

1.	Chatrabhūj	700/500	Lāherī, II, 742.
2.	Pratāp Singh	600/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 745.
3.	Ballu Chauhan	500/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 747.
4.	Vainī Dās s/o Ballu	400/100	<u>M.K.</u> , I, 234.
5.	Sukat Singh s/o Vainī Dās	300/250	Lāherī, II, 748; <u>M.K.</u> , I, 234.

GAURS

1.	Rāja Bethal Dās	5000/5000	Lāhorī, II, 720.
2.	Anirudh s/o Bethal Dās	1500/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 730.
3.	Siv Rām	1500/1000	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	Girdhar Dās	1000/ 800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 733.
5.	Kirpa Rām	800/ 750	<u>Ibid.</u> , 739.
6.	Manohar Dās b/o Bethal Dās	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 751.
7.	Arjun s/o Rāja Bethal Dās	1000/ 700	<u>Ibid.</u> , 733.
8.	Rai Mukund Dās	800/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 741; Ranawat, 104.

SISODIAS

1.	Rāna Jagat Singh	5000/5000	Lāhorī, II, 719.
2.	Rāja Rai Sēngh	4000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 721.
3.	Sujan Singh	1500/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 732.
4.	Narain Dās	700/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 743.
5.	Hamir Singh	500/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 747.

RĀTHORS

1.	Rāja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000 2500 <del>do aspa</del> <del>sih aspa</del>	Lāhorī, II, 719.
2.	Prithvi Rāj	2000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 726.
3.	Rao Karan Bhūrtiya	2000/1500	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	Roop Singh g/o Kishan Singh	2000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u>
5.	Ratan Singh	1500/1500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 729.

contd....

6.	Shyām Singh s/o Karamsī	1500/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 731.
7.	Rāi Singh s/o Amar Singh	1000/ 700	<u>Ibid.</u> , 733.
8.	Rāj Singh s/o Khiwān Rāther	1000/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 734.
9.	Gordhan	800/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 740.
10.	Gevind Dās	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u> , 748.
11.	Jaswant b/o Mahesh Dās	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u> .
12.	Kesrī Singh	500/ 100	<u>Ibid.</u> , 752.
13.	Rāja Udai Bhān s/o Girdhar	700/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 742; <u>B.K.</u> , 178.

#### GEHLOTS

1.	Rāwal Punja	1500/1500	Lāhorī, II, 721.
2.	Rāwal Samarsāl	1000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 732.

#### HĀDĀS

1.	Rāo Satrsāl	3000/3000	Lāhorī, II, 722.
2.	Mādho Singh	3000/3000	<u>Ibid.</u> .
3.	Indrasāl	800/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 742.

#### JĀDONS

1.	Rāja Jagmān	500/ 400	Lāhorī, II, 747.
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#### JHĀLĀS

1.	Rāi Singh	1000/700	Lāhorī, II, 733.
2.	Rāwat Dayāl Dās	700/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 742.

KACHAWĀHAS

1.	Rāja Jai Singh	5000/5000 2000 <del>do aspa</del> <del>sīh aspa</del>	Lāhorī, II, 719.
2.	Kunwar Rām Singh s/o Jai Singh	1000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 732.
3.	Gopāl Singh s/o Manroop Singh	1000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u>
4.	Rāja Amar Singh	1000/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 734.
5.	Jagrām	900/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 736.
6.	Rāi Tilok Chand	1000/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 735.
7.	Nar Singh Dās s/o Dwārka Dās	800/ 800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 739.
8.	Ugar Sen	800/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	Ajab Singh s/o Satrāl	800/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 741.
10.	Bhoj Rāj	700/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 742.
11.	Sangrām	700/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u>
12.	Mathura Dās	700/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u>
13.	Pain Chand g/o Rāi Manohar	600/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 745.
14.	Ugar Sen g/o Rāja Mān Singh	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 749.
15.	Kanhi s/o Balbhadr Shaikhāwa-t	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
16.	Chandra Bhān Narooka	700/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 742.
17.	Prithvi Singh, great-grand son of Rāja Mān Singh	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u> , 748.
18.	Kishan Singh, great-grand son of Rāja Mān Singh	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u> , 748.

KATOCHS

1. Rāja Mān Singh of Guler 900/800 Lāhorī, II, 738

PUNDIRS

1. Rāj Rup of Mau Nūrpur 2000/2000 Lāhorī, II, 726;  
M.U., I, 321-24.

SENA CHANDRABANSIS

1. Rāja Kunwar Sen  
of Kishtwar 1000/ 400 Lāhorī, II, 736.

SOLANKIS

1. Nahar 800/ 400 Lāhorī, II, 740;  
M.K., I, 220.

TUNWARS

1. Rāja Kishan Singh 500/ 500 Lāhorī, II, 747.

SONGARS

1. Chatr Bhūj 500/ 500 Lāhorī, II, 747.

SURAJBANSIS

1. Rāja Prithvi Chand  
of Chambe 1000/ 400 Lāhorī, II, 736.

**Appendix 'C'**

**MANSABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1657 A.D.\***

**BARGUJARS**

S.No.	Name	Mansab	References
1.	Rāja Amar Singh	500/500	Wāris, f.269b.

**BAGHELAS**

1.	Anoop Singh s/o Amar Singh	3000/2000 1000 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	Wāris, f.260b.
2.	Fateh Singh b/o Anoop Singh	500/200	<u>Ibid.</u> , f.271a.

**BHADŪRIYAS**

1.	Maha Singh s/o Badan Singh	1000/800	Wāris, f.264a.
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**BHĀTĪS**

1.	Rāwai Sabal Singh	1000/700	Wāris, f.264b.
2.	Prithvi Rāj	700/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , f.267b.

**BUNDILAS**

1.	Rāja Sujān Singh	2000/2000 <u>do aspa sih aspa</u>	Wāris, f.261b.
2.	Rāja Debi Singh	2000/2000 300 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	<u>Ibid.</u>

contd..

3.	Puran Mal b/o Pahar Singh	1500/1500	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.263a.
4.	Champat	500/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.269b.
5.	Inder Man s/o Pahar Singh	500/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u>
6.	Chandraman	1500/ 800	Wāris, p.204; Ranawat, 31.

#### CHANDRAWATS

1.	Rao Amar Singh	2000/1000	Wāris, p.262b.
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#### CHAUHĀNS

1.	Chatr Bhuj	1500/1500 <del>do 5000 slh 5000</del>	Wāris, p.263a.
2.	Ballu	700/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.267b.

#### GAURS

1.	Girdhar Dās b/o Rāja Bethal Dās	2000/2000	Wāris, p.262a.
2.	Arjun Singh s/o Rāja Bethal Dās	2000/1500	<u>Ibid.</u> ; V.V., 368.
3.	Rāja Siv Rām	2000/1500	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.262a.
4.	Bhīm s/o Rāja Bethal Dās	1000/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 264b.
5.	Kirpa Rām	800/ 750	<u>Ibid.</u> , 266a.
6.	Manohar Dās b/o Rāja Bethal Dās	800/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u>
7.	Harjan s/o Girdhar Dās	500/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 269a.
8.	Harjas s/o Rāja Bethal Dās	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 269b.
9.	Bhāī Singh b/o Rāja Bethal Dās	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
10.	Bahrān b/o Rāja Bethal Dās	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
11.	Ranher b/o Rāja Bethal Dās	500/ 150	<u>Ibid.</u> , 270a.
12.	Rāja Anirudh	3000/3000 2000 <del>do 5000 slh 5000</del>	M.H., II, 276-77; Wāris, p.260a; V.V., 369.

GEHLOTS

1.	Rāwāl Punja	1500/1500	Wāris, 262b.
2.	Rawal Samarsai	1000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 263b.
3.	Girdhar Dās s/o Rawal Punja	600/ 600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 268a.

HĀDAS

1.	Rāo Satrāl	4000/4000	Wāris, 25a.
2.	Mukund Singh	3000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 260b.
3.	Mohan Singh s/o Mādhō Singh	800/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 266a.

JAMWĀLS

1.	Sārangdhar g/o Rāja Sangrām Singh of Jammu	700/ 500	Wāris, 267a.
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JHĀLĀS

1.	Rāi Singh	1000/700	Wāris, 262b; <u>V.V.</u> , 372.
2.	Rāwat Dayāl Dās	900/500	Wāris, 265a.
3.	Barsa or Parsa, b/o Rāi Singh	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u> , 217; Ranawat, 37, 95, 108.

KACHAWĀHAS

1.	Rāja Jai Singh	5000/5000 4000 <del>de sara</del> <del>sih sara</del>	Wāris, 259b.
2.	Rām Singh s/o Rāja Jai Singh	3000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 260b.
3.	Rāja Amar Singh	1500/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 262b.
4.	Gopāl Singh s/o Manroop	1000/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 263b.

contd....

5.	Kirat Singh s/o Rāja Jai Singh	1000/900	<u>Ibid.</u>
6.	Jagṛam	1000/800	<u>Ibid.</u>
7.	Ugar Sen	800/600	<u>Ibid.</u> , 266a.
8.	Ajab Singh	800/400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 266b.
9.	Fateh Singh	700/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 268a.
10.	Bhoj Rāj Khangar	1000/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 264b.
11.	Nar Singh Dās s/o Dwārka Dās	800/800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 265b; Ranawat, 95.
12.	Mahru s/o Rāja Jai Singh	900/300	<u>V.V.</u> , 374.
13.	Chandra Bhān	700/500	Wāris, 267a.
14.	Harī Singh s/o Chandra Bhān	500/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 269a.

#### KATOCHS

1.	Rāja Mān Singh s/o Rāja Roop Singh	900/850	Wāris, 265a.
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#### PUNDIRS

1.	Rāja Rājroop of Mau Nūrpur	3000/2500	Wāris, 260a.
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#### RĀTHORS

1.	Mahārāja Jaswant Singh	6000/6000 5000 <u>do sena</u> <u>sik sena</u>	Wāris, 259b.
2.	Roop Singh	4000/4000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 260a.
3.	Rāo Karan	3000/2000	262 <u>Ibid.</u> , 260b.
4.	Shyām Singh or Rām Singh s/o Karamal	3000/1500	<u>Ibid.</u>

contd...

5.	Rāi Singh s/o Rāja Gaj Singh	1500/1000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 262b.
6.	Udai Bhān s/o Shyām Singh	1000/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 264a.
7.	Gordhan Dās	1000/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 264b.
8.	Mahesh Dās	1000/500	<u>Ibid.</u>
9.	Rāja Udai Bhān s/o Girdhar	800/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 266a.
10.	Sher Singh s/o Rām Singh	800/300	Wāris, 266b.
11.	Jagat Singh s/o Prithvi Rāj	700/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 267b.
12.	Kesri Singh s/o Prithvi Rāj	600/200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 268b.
13.	Rām Singh b/o Prithvi Rāj	500/200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 270a.
14.	Nāhar s/o Rāj Singh	900/400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 265a.
15.	Sujān Singh s/o Muhkam Singh	1000/500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 264a.
16.	Ishwar Singh s/o Amar Singh	600/200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 268b.
17.	Rāi Banmālī Dās s/o Rao Karan of Bikāner	1000/100	V.V., 373.
18.	Fateh Singh s/o Mahesh Dās	250	<u>Bahi</u> , p.12.
19.	Jujhār Singh s/o , ,	200/25	<u>Ibid.</u>
20.	Rup Singh s/o Gordhan	400/50	<u>Ibid.</u>
21.	Ratan Singh s/o Gordhan	200/25	<u>Ibid.</u>
22.	Udai Singh s/o Rām Singh	100/30	<u>Ibid.</u> , 16.
23.	Kalyān Dās s/o Mahesh Dās	400/400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 17.

#### SISODIAS

1.	Rāna Rāj Singh	5000/5000	Wāris, 260b.
2.	Rāi Singh	5000/2500	Wāris, 197; M.U., II, 298-300.
3.	Biram Deo b/o Sujān Singh	3000/1000	Wāris, 261a.
4.	Sabal Singh	2500/1500	<u>Ibid.</u>

contd...

5.	Sujān Singh	2000/800	<u>Ibid.</u> , 262b.
6.	Fateh Singh s/o Sujān Singh	500/200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 270a.
7.	Chana Sisodia	500/200	Wāris, 270a. He is noted as Hubba Sisodia by Ranawat, p.38.
8.	Sultān Sisodia	500/100	Wāris, 270b.
9.	Sunder Dās	700/300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 213; Ranawat, 213.
10.	Gharib Dās	1500/700	Wāris, 204; Ranawat, 31.

#### SOMBANSIS

1.	Rāi Tilok Chand of Kumaon	800/400	Wāris, 266a; <u>Vigat</u> , II, 294.
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#### SONGAR

1.	Chatrbhuj	600/600	Wāris, 268a.
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#### SURAJBANSIS

1.	Prithvī Chand of Chamba	1000/400	Wāris, 264b.
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#### TUNWARS

1.	Rāja Kishan Singh	1000/500	Wāris, 264b
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\* I owe for this mansab information of Wāris' Bādshāhnāma, (MS. I.O. Lib.), to Sunita I. Zaidi.

Appendix 'D'

OFFICES HELD BY RĀJPUT CHIEFS DURING  
SHĀH JAHĀN'S REIGN (1627-1658 A.D.)

S.No.	Year	Name	Clan	Office	Reference
1.	1631	Bethal Dās	Gaur	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Ranthambhor</u>	<u>M.U., II, 250-54.</u>
2.	Aug. 1632	Kirpa Rām	Gaur	<u>Faujdar of</u> <u>Chakla Hisar</u>	Lāhorī, I, 432.
3.	1633	Bethal Dās; his son Anirudh Gaur was made his deputy	Gaur	<u>Sūbadār of</u> <u>Ajmer</u>	<u>Taba Tabai, 94;</u> <u>M.U., II, 250-54.</u>
4.	1635	Jagat Singh s/o Bāsu	Pundīr	<u>Thānadar of</u> <u>Bangash</u>	<u>M.U., II, 238-41.</u>
5.	1635	Karan Singh Bhurtiya	Rāthor	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Daulatabād</u>	<u>M.U., II, 287-88.</u>
6.	1636	Girdhar Dās	Gaur	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Jhānsi</u>	<u>M.U., II, 250-54.</u>
7.	1637	Siv Rām	Gaur	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Fort Asir</u>	Lāhorī, I, 304; <u>M.U., II, 263-64.</u>
8.	1638	Bethal Dās	Gaur	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Akbarabād</u>	Lāhorī, II, 110; <u>M.U., II, 250-52.</u>
9.	1639	Jagat Singh s/o Bāsu	Pundīr	<u>Faujdar of</u> <u>Bangash</u>	<u>M.U., II, 239-41.</u>
10.	1639	Rāja Rāj Rup s/o Rāja Jagat Singh	Pundīr	<u>Faujdar of</u> <u>Koh Kāngra</u>	Lāhorī, II, 127; 237; <u>M.U., II, 277.</u>
11.	1639-40	Amar Singh Narwari	Kacha-waha Rājawat	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Fort Narwar</u>	Lāhorī, II, 174; <u>M.U., II, 226-28.</u>
12.	1641	Jagat Singh s/o Bāsu	Pundīr	<u>Faujdar of</u> <u>Daman koh in Kāngra</u>	<u>M.U., II, 240-41.</u>
13.	1642	..	..	<u>Qilādār of</u> <u>Qāiat in the province of Qandhār</u>	<u>M.U., II, 240-41</u>

14.	1643-44	Prithvī Rāj	Rāthor	<u>Qilādār</u> of Daulatabād	<u>M.U.</u> , I, 429-31.
15.	1645-46	"	"	<u>Qilādār</u> of Agra	<u>Ibid.</u>
16.	1646	Rāja Rāj Rup s/o Rāja Jagat Singh	Pundīr	<u>Qilādār</u> of a fort lying between Sarāb and Andrab	<u>M.U.</u> , II, 277-81.
17.	1646-47	Pratāp Singh	Chauhān	<u>Qilādār</u> of Dharab	<u>Z.K.</u> , III, 115.
18.	1646-47	Kishan Singh	"	<u>Qilādār</u> of Jula or Chula	<u>Ibid.</u>
19.	Sept. 1647	Shyām Singh s/o Karamsī	Rāthor	<u>Faujdar</u> of Baglāna	Wāris, 10.
20.	Aug. 1648	Siv Rām	Gaur	<u>Qilādār</u> of Kābul	Lāhorī, II, 641.
21.	1649	Rāja Rājrūp	Pundīr	<u>Qilādār</u> of Kahmard (in Qandhar)	<u>M.U.</u> , II, 279-81.
22.	Sept. 1650	Rāo Karan	Rāthor	<u>Qilādār</u> of Daulatabād	Wāris, 126; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 276-77.
23.	c. 1650	Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh	Kacha-waha	<u>Faujdar</u> of Delhi	<u>Z.K.</u> , III, 118.
24.	Sept. 1650-51	Kirat Singh	Kacha-waha Rājawat	<u>Faujdar</u> of Mewat	<u>Farmān, nishan and Manshūrā,</u> n. 77; RSA Bikaner; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 156-58.
25.	Jan. 1651	Anirudh s/o Bethal Dās	Gaur	<u>Qilādār</u> of Ranthambhor	Wāris, 154-55.
26.	Oct. 1652	Manohar Dās b/o Bethal Dās	Gaur	<u>Qilādār</u> of Asir	<u>Ibid.</u> , 194.
27.	May 1653	Nar Singh Dās s/o Dwaraka Dās	Shai-khāwat	<u>Qilādār</u> of Khaibar	<u>Ibid.</u> , 234.
28.	Feb. 1654	Kishan Singh s/o Rāya Mān Singh	Kacha-waha Rājawat	<u>Qilādār</u> of Tarāgarh	<u>Ibid.</u> , 254.

29.	Sept. 1654	Rāja Sangrām of Gunner	Chauhan	<u>Faujdar</u> of Burhānpur	Wāris, 276.
30.	,,	Sārangdhar g/o Rāja Sangrām	Jānwāl	<u>Thānadar</u> of Manjrodh	<u>Ibid.</u> ,
31.	Nov. 1654	Rāja Debī Singh	Bundela	<u>Faujdar</u> of Bhīnsor or Shīlā	<u>Ibid.</u> ; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 295
32.	,,	Prithvī Rāj	Rāthor	<u>Faujdar</u> of Ajmer	Wāris, 279-80.
33.	Oct. 1655	Girdhar s/o Rāvat Punja	Gehlot	<u>Thānadar</u> of Azamābād	<u>Ibid.</u> , 311.
34.	Dec. 1655	Girdhar Dās	Gaur	<u>Qilādar</u> of Agra	<u>Ibid.</u> , 318-19.
35.	Sept. 1657	,,	,,	<u>Faujdar</u> of Agra	<u>Ibid.</u> , 366-67; <u>Amal-i Sālib</u> , III, 237.
36.	,,	Pardumā-n b/o Girdhar Dās	,,	<u>Qilādar</u> of Agra	Wāris, 366-67; <u>Amal-i Sālib</u> , III, 237.
37.	1658	Sīv Rām	,,	<u>Qilādar</u> of Mandu	'Amal-i Sālib, III, 271; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 265.

## Chapter IV

### THE AUTONOMOUS PRINCIPALITIES: WATAN JĀGIRS

As Irfan Habib has pointed out, the watan-jagirs originated from admission of zamindars or territorial chiefs into the Mughal service. The jagirs allotted to zamindars entering the Mughal service within their old dominions were known as their watans and then were allowed to remain with their families.<sup>1</sup> Nurul Hasan holds that the Mughal emperors treated the hereditary dominions of the autonomous chiefs as watan jagirs. There was no difference between ordinary jagir and watan jagir except the latter was hereditary in nature and immune from transfer.<sup>2</sup> Although theoretically the King was entitled to determine the succession to the watan-jagirs, it was ordinarily allowed to take place according to the customary rules of the individual ruling clans.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707 A.D.), p.184; M. Ather Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.79.
  2. Nurul Hasan, 'Zamindars under the Mughals', Land Control And Social Structure in Indian History, p.21.
  3. Ibid. See also Chapter V on Succession to Watan-jagirs.

It is not known as to exactly what conditions were offered to the Rajput chiefs with respect to their principalities at the time of their joining Akbar's service. One cannot, however, fail to note that the term watan jagir does not occur in any one of records and chronicles of Akbar's reign. Even Abul Fazl does not refer to the original principalities or zamindaris of the Rajput chiefs in the imperial service as watan jagirs. He calls these places by term like martin, maskan, manzil, bungah, khana and zamindari etc.<sup>1</sup> Even when, at one place, he refers to Jodhpur as the jagir of Mata Raja, he does not use any prefix to indicate the special nature of this assignment.<sup>2</sup>

This would strongly suggest that the arrangement under which the parganas of hereditary principalities of the Rajput nobles came to be treated, during the 17th century, as their permanent <sup>asrigum</sup> or watan jagirs, did not exist in all its essential features during the 16th century.

Yet it is known in many cases the chiefs recruited in the Mughal service under Akbar continued to enjoy special rights

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1. Akbar-nama, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-87, III, 15, 184, 220, 221, 326.

2. Ibid., 662.

and privileges within their original zamindaris as well as in relation to members of their clans. This situation tended to resemble the arrangement that later existed in the form of watan-jagirs.

One may infer that till 1573 or in other words till the introduction of dagh-e-chahra regulations, the assignments of the Rajput chiefs recruited in Akbar's service during sixties were confined mainly to their hereditary principalities. It is important to note, in this connection, that, till 1573, one does not come across any instance of the bestowal of a jagir on a Rajput noble in region far removed from his original dominion. From this it may be deduced that till this time, their original dominion were the only territories that were left with them as their assignments. The earliest and the only direct evidence about the bestowal of a jagir on a Rajput chief prior to 1573 is a statement by Badauni that in 1570, pargana Arail was given as jagir to Raja Ram Chandra of Bhatta.<sup>1</sup> But as we knew on the authority of the Afghan chronicle Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani that till Sikandar Lodi's reign Arail was a part of the Bhatta principality.<sup>2</sup> One may, therefore, treat this evidence as

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, II, p.120.

2. Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani Lodi, p.179. In the Ain-i Akbari, Abul Fazl says that parganah Bhatta comprised thirty nine patalas, but the names of the parganas are not mentioned. In the Akbar-nama (III, p.726), we find that the territory of Bhatta was in the zamindari of Baghelias.

suggesting the restoration of the pargana originally held by the Seighela to him rather than the bestowal of a new jagir. Akbar's practice of assigning to the chiefs the parganas situated within their own dominions is also borne by three stray references in the Akbarnama, Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat and Dalpat Vilas. In 1575, Sambhal and Bikaner were in the jagirs of the chiefs in whose ancestral territories these were located.<sup>1</sup> In 1577, Akbar laid the foundation of the fort of Mul Mancharnagar and after the completion of the fort, Akbar assigned it to Manchar Das, zamindar of that place.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding Amber we do not come across a clear cut statement anywhere in the sources of Akbar's reign, including Akbarnama, to the effect that it was left in the jagir of Bhar Mal or any one of his successors. Yet on the basis of indirect evidence, one may infer that at the time the Kachawahas were recruited into the Mughal service, Bhar Mal was allowed to retain his original territory as a jagir-cum-military charge. For instance, it is known that subsequent to Bhar Mal's entry in Akbar's service, he as well as his successors were usually in attendance upon the King or serving in various capacities in

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1. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, p.306; Dalpat Vilas, p.33.

2. Akbarnama, III, p.221.

the different parts of the empire, but unlike the ordinary nobles, they were having their personal establishments at Amber.<sup>1</sup> They would occasionally visit Amber and hold marriage ceremonies of the members of their family and similar other functions in that place. It is in the context of such occasions that Abul Fazl uses the terms mautin and makan,<sup>2</sup> which tends to indicate that from the very beginning the territories of the original zamindaria of the Kachawaha chiefs entering the Mughal service were treated as their permanent headquarters or even jagirs.

A similar policy was pursued in the case of the thikanas and pattas of the ordinary Kachawaha chiefs like Amarsar, Sambnar, Lawan, Narains and Deosa.<sup>3</sup> It may be presumed that in their capacities of military commanders or hakims, the Kachawaha nobles of lesser ranks holding their thikanas or pattas as issisun-military charges, were in a subordinate position to the Rajewat chief of Amber. At least this much is fully established that even after the entry of Kachawaha nobles in the

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1. Akbarnama, III, p.339.

2. Ibid.

3. Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyat, I, pp.304, 318; Akbarnama, II, pp.156-57.

Mughal service the ordinary Kachawāha chiefs continued to regard the Rājāwat chief as their superiors and leaders. This is borne by the fact that on occasions the king himself would be forced to take help from the Rājāwat chief for pacifying an individual Kachawāha noble's feeling disgruntled for one or the other reason. For instance, in 1572, it was only at Bhagwant Dās' intervention that Rāpsi was persuaded to apologise for his rude behaviour towards Akbar.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1583, Akbar had to take the help of Jagannāth for persuading Udai Singh to give up his insistence that his mother should perform sati along with the dead body of his father.<sup>2</sup>

However, it appears that while conferring the parganas of their original principalities on the Rājāwat chiefs, Akbar had taken some of the mahals of the pargana of Āmber under his direct control. These mahals were given by the Emperor as jagirs or ma'āfi grants to men of his choice who were not always Kachawāhas. It is known on the strength of a document, preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner that around 1597, Akbar had given village Punvaliya in pargana

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1. Akbarnāmā, III, 49-50.

2. Ibid., p.402; Ma'āfir-ul-Umarā', II, p.110.

Amber as ydak (madd-i ma'ash) to Dhani Ram Joshi, a Brahman.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Sanganir, a mahal in pargana Amber was given as jagir to Ram Das Udwat in 1572.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Ram Das was also appointed the khetwal of Sanganir.<sup>3</sup> This evidence is an ample indication of the fact that in 1597, a part of the revenues of pargana Amber were controlled by the central government.

Akbar's policy of taking away a part of the revenues of the principality of a chief entering his service and of giving them as assignment to men of his own choice is borne still more clearly from the manner in which Akbar appears to have curtailed the extent of the territory held by the Rathor chief of Jodhpur on the death of Rao Chandra Sen. This is suggested by the fact that the rulers of Jodhpur are reported to have controlled vast territory before they took up service under Akbar. The chiefs of Jodhpur possessed Jodhpur, Bhadrajun, Jaler, Siwana, Sancher, Phaledi, Merta, Ajmer, Chetsu, Tonk, Toda and Malpura under their control.<sup>4</sup> But on Chandra Sen's

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1. The document is available in the old records file of Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
  2. Tahqiqat-i Akbari, II, p.442; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, p.804.
  3. Ibid.; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, p.331.
  4. Mawar-re-Pargana-re-Vicat, I, pp.43-45.

death in 1563, Udai Singh's territory was limited to pargana Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup> Apparently, the original pargana of the Rather chiefs other than Jodhpur were either taken into khalisa or were assigned to the petty Rather chiefs who were entering the imperial service in their individual capacities. It might be assumed that this policy of assigning small jagirs to petty Rajput officers in the territory taken away from an autonomous chief was conceived by Akbar as an effective instrument for breaking the resistance of a chief reluctant to submit to him on the terms that he was offering. This policy became discernible first of all in the case of the Rathors of Jodhpur when they were being pressurised by Akbar to submit to him. In 1559, when Jaitaran was annexed from Jodhpur, it was assigned as jagir to two Rather sardars, Kalyan Das and Gopal Das<sup>2</sup> and pargana Sojat was assigned as jagir to Rao Ram Rather.<sup>3</sup> Similar cases of assignments are also traceable in the territory of Mewar. In 1568, Rao Surjan Hada, a subordinate sardar of Rana Pratap of Mewar, was allowed to retain his territory Bundi on entering Akbar's service.<sup>4</sup> Another similar case was that of

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1. Marmar-ka-Pargana-ka-Vigat, I, pp.76-77.

2. Ibid., II, p.495.

3. Akbarnama, III, p.34.

4. Muhta Mainasi-ka-Khyat, I, pp.110, 112.

Rao Durga of who, on taking up the Mughal service, was allowed to hold his thikana Rampura.<sup>1</sup> Rawal Askaran of Dungarpur and Rawal Pratap of Banswara, when they crossed over to the Mughal, were not disturbed in their thikanas.<sup>2</sup> After the entry of these sardars into the imperial service, their thikanas held by them were recognised as jagira granted to them by the Emperor. This is clearly suggested by evidence relating to the entry of ruler of Mewar in the Mughal service in 1615. At this time, these thikanadars were no more treated as subordinates of the Rana. Even after the treaty of 1615, between the Rana and the Mughals, they continued to be in the service of the Mughal rulers and their original thikanas were treated as their watan-jagira.

The entry of the Rajput chiefs in the Mughal service brought about in fact as well as in theory drastic change in their position. First, their semi-autonomous control over their charge would not be concomitant with their jurisdiction as the Janjirdars of the area. They could be deprived of one or the other position by the king at his will. This policy was in consonance with the notion that the nobles were in the position

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1. Vix Vinod, pp.983-84.

2. Ibid., pp.984-87; Mansir-ul-Umar, II, pp.142-43.

of the royal threshold (bandagan-i darosh).<sup>1</sup> This notion laid the basis for Akbar's exercise of the royal power for curtailing the privileges and claims of the Rajput chiefs in regard of their ancestral territories.

As already suggested, the pattas and thikanas of the minor Rajput chiefs were recognised as their jaqirs on their entry in the Mughal service. As a consequence of this practice, the control of the bigger chiefs entering the Mughal service with their original principalities would basically be that of the hakims or faujdaras of the areas and obviously they would not have the same kind of claim over the revenues of their zamindaris as must have been the case earlier. Thus, it would seem that the situation of administrative jurisdiction inside the Rajput territories at that entry stage must have been rather fluid.

In this situation, one might imagine, the Rajput chiefs would tend to become sensitive regarding their position vis-a-vis their zamindaris or watans and they would be prone to resist any move to further limit their jurisdiction over these territories. This kind of tension between the central authority and the newly recruited Rajput chiefs tended to accentuate on

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1. M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, pp.63-64; I.A. Khan, The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble - Munim Khan Khan-i Khanan, pxxxx p.xii.

account of two kinds of developments: First, as a result of the rise of the chiefs in the imperial hierarchy to higher mansabs (or whatever categories of status obtained at the time), the income from their jagirs located within the erstwhile principalities would no longer be sufficient to meet their salary bills and, therefore, the Emperor would be called upon to make additions to their existing jagirs.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose, it would be necessary to assess, properly, the jama of the jagirs located in their original principalities through official machinery evolved for this purpose, thus reinforcing the process of the extension of the imperial administration over the territories left under the control of the chiefs. On the other hand, the assignment of the jagirs to these chiefs in different provinces and their appointment to command any higher offices in the state would physically remove these people from their dominions.<sup>2</sup> This would have provided an opportunity to the Emperor to appoint his own officers for administering these areas. Naturally, the chiefs on their part would be anxious that their status as the semi-autonomous rulers of the territories concerned should not be

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1. Sometime around 1573, Akbar started giving jagirs to the Rajput chiefs outside the territory of their hereditary principalities. In 1573, Raja Man Singh held Khichwara in jagir. A.N., III, p.43; M.K., I, 342.

2. This happened, for instance, in the case of the Kachawaha nobles who were stationed in the Punjab sometime before 1576 and were given jagirs there. Akharnam, III, p.248.

disturbed and they should be allowed to control them through their agents while they were serving in positions requiring their prolonged absence from their previous charges. It would, however, seem that Akbar was not prepared to concede these privileges to the chiefs and was gradually taking steps for the integration of the administration of their territories with those of the rest of the Empire. This caused friction between the imperial authority and the chiefs. In the case of the Rājput nobles, evidence suggesting such a friction is not altogether lacking.<sup>1</sup>

The friction noticed above seems to have become particularly sharp in 1575, when Akbar attempted to abolish jagirs and reduced his nobles to the position of the servants of the state, paid in cash.<sup>2</sup> An accompanying measure was the appointment of the kurūrs all over the Empire for managing the newly created

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1. There are references to the appointment of Kurūrs in Bikaner and Sambhar. It was resented by the Rājput chiefs. Muhta Nainai-re-Khyāt, I, p.306; Dalpat Vilas, p.33.
  2. Akbarnāma, III, p.69. Abūl Fazl says, "accordingly, he promulgated the branding regulation, the conversion of the imperial territories into crown lands and the fixing the grades of the officers of state". There are divergent views among the modern historians regarding this measure. Moreland has interpreted it as Abūl Fazl's above passage as a drastic action to put the bulk of his service on cash salaries, and take the northern provinces under direct administration. (The Azanian System of Mogul India, p.96), while M.P. Singh has cited several cases suggesting that the jagirs already assigned to nobles were continued to be held by them even after the promulgation of the above order. ('Akbar's Resumption of Jagirs, 1575 - a Re-examination', The Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Mysore, 1966, pp.208-9).

khalisa territories.<sup>1</sup> It seems that while introducing these measures an attempt was made to resume the  jagirs of the Rajput nobles located within their zamindaria. The fact that at least for sometime around 1575, Sambhar was taken into khalisa is borne out by Muhta Nainsi's testimony but he also tells us that this was resisted by Kachawaha chief Vijay Ram holding this pargana.<sup>2</sup> Similar evidence relating to Bikaner is available in the Dalpat Vilas. According to this source, when kuroris reached Bikaner in 1575, ostensibly to take over the pargana from the Raja, Rao Rai Singh's son Bhupat barred their entry into the pargana and eventually they were obliged to return from there without fulfilling their assignment.<sup>3</sup>

Possibly, after the abortive attempt of 1575 to abolish jagirs, Akbar gave substantial concessions to the

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1. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p.189. "In this year a new idea came into his mind for improving the calculation of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in desert and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation, would produce one khan of tankas, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called kheria, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers so that in course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers".
  2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, p.306.
  3. Dalpat Vilas, p.33.

nobility with an aim to mollify them. One important concession that he appears to have given to the Rajput nobles was that he exempted their jagirs located in their zamindaris territories from resumption. After 1575, we do not come across any instance of the resumption or attempted resumption of the existing jagir of a Rajput chief located in his original zamindari. Apparently, with the passage of time, this practice tended to establish a distinction between the two types of jagirs: ordinary jagirs and the jagirs located in the original zamindaris. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, it would appear that the jagirs of the chiefs located in their zamindaris as distinct from their ordinary jagirs, came to be designated as watan-jagirs. This designation is for the first time used in the context of such assignments around 1604 in one of Akbar's farmanas to Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner, preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives. It is stated in this document, "Whereas the said mahal (Shamsabad) had been attached to the jagir of Rathors since long, we have, as a token of great favour, bestowed both the parganas (Shamsabad and Nurpur) upon him (Rai Rai Singh) as the watan-jagir".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Akbar's farman to Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner. The farman (N. 14) is preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. The term watan-jagir is used in farman for the assignment of revenues of one of the mahals of pargana Shamsabad to Rai Rai Singh on a permanent basis. From Ain-i Akbari, one comes to know that pargana Shamsabad was at this time in the zamindari of the Rathors. Ain-i Akbari, II, tr. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1949, p.196. Bleckmann, Ain, II, p.507. The predecessors of Rai Singh resided in Shamsabad.

This earliest reference to the institution of watan-jagir in the Mughal records tends to specify the following characteristic features of the institution emerging at the time:

- (a) That watan-jagir was given on a permanent basis, a logical corollary of which would be that, ordinarily, it would continue in the line of assignee from generation after generation.
- (b) That watan-jagir would be located in a mahal included in the zamindari of the assignee.
- (c) That the imperial authority could create the watan-jagir at its will for a noble in any part of the Empire,

## II

A detailed scrutiny of the existing evidence suggests a gradual development in the specific characteristics of watan-jagirs during the reign of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. While studying the working of this institution during this period, we have also made use of the evidence coming from the second half of the 17th century wherever it can usefully shed light on the institution in the earlier phase.

At the time of a Rajput noble's entry in service, he was given an initial mansab carrying a salary bill that approximated to the estimated revenue of his zamindari, which was treated as his watan-jagir. However, the basic feature of watan-jagir was its freedom from transfer. This is borne out clearly from a passage in the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri. Jahangir says, I halted in the pargana of Badnor. This pargana from the time of my father has been in the jagir of Kesho Das Maru and infact, had become a kind of watan to him. He had constructed gardens and buildings. Out of these, one was a step well (baoli) on the road, which appeared exceedingly pleasant and well made. It occurred to me that if a well had to be made everywhere on a road side, it should be built like this one".<sup>1</sup>

This indicates that owing to the permanent interests created by the Mughal Emperor in recognition of watan jagir, the holder would take keen interest to improve the area held as watan jagir. It was only on the rare occasion of a grave lapse or fault that a watan jagir became vulnerable to resumption. In 1647 on the complaint of the peasants of the watan jagir of Pratap Singh Chauhan, the jagir was transferred, and his rank was curtailed.<sup>2</sup> In another case, pargana Rawat, which was held

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, 203.

2. Sheikh Farid Bhakkarī does not mention the specific place held by Pratap Singh Chauhan as watan jagir. But he says that his watan lies between Delhi and Narnol. Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, III, p.115.

in watan jagir by a certain chief Nar Singh Das, was also transferred.<sup>1</sup>

From Indar Singh's petition, dated Rabi-us-Sani 1089 AH/June 1678, addressed to Aurangzeb, it transpires that according to the Rajput perception of the prevailing custom at the time of the chief's succession to the gaddi, he was to be given a mansab equal to the income of the watan. The petition reads as follows:

"The petition of Indar Singh, son of Rao Rai Singh. It is submitted that it is a custom of the Rajputs to assign the ~~a~~ villages belonging to the mahal of the watan to the Rajputs. At the time of necessity, they sacrifice their lives. Owing to this, after the death of the watandar, a mansab, equal to the dams (i.e. jamadami) of the watan is conferred (on the Rajputs). Four lakh dams of the mahal of the watan in Nagor are in excess (of the sanctioned salary). It is hoped that either the mansab may be increased (so as to have the pay cover the) excess amount, or the excess amount be written off (from the jama). It was ordered that an increase of 300 suwars in the mansab (of Indar Singh) be made."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Adab-i Alamgiri, MS. f.116a.

2. Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, p.121.

Inder Singh's statement that the entire revenues of his watan ought to be controlled by the holder of the watan, is corroborated by a number of examples in which the income of the watan jagir was adjusted in the sanctioned pay-claims of the Rajput chiefs. For instance, from Jahangir's farman to Rana Karan of Mewar dated 1024 AH/1615 AD, it is obvious that the jamadami of Mewar was included in the Rana's salary.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, one can see from the Marwar-re-pargana-ri-Vigat, the jamadami of pargana Jodhpur was always adjusted in the pay bills of the Rathor chiefs.<sup>2</sup> An order of Aurangzeb conferring mansabs of 7000/7000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa and 2000/1800 on Mirza Raja Jai Singh and his son Kirat Singh respectively, is reproduced in the Marwar-re-pargana-ri-Vigat.<sup>3</sup> The revenues of the watans of these two nobles namely Amber and Kama Pahari were included in their salary claims. In 1654, the jama of Dun, which was the watan of Chaturbhuj Chauhan, were adjusted against his salary.<sup>4</sup> An incident mentioned in a news report from Ajmer shows that the revenues of pargana Mangrol, the watan of Prag Das Gaur were included in his salary bill.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Jahangir's farman to Rana Karan, Vir Vinod, II, p.239.
  2. Marwar-re-Pargana-ri-Vigat, I, pp.76-7, 83,93.
  3. A salary statement containing the details of the mansabs, jagirs, etc. of Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Kirat Singh has been reproduced in the Marwar-re-Pargana-ri-Vigat, II, pp.488-89.
  4. Waris, Badrshahnam, p.302.
  5. Waqai Barkar Ranthambhor-wa-Ajmer, p.700.

Apart from such documentary evidence we have statements to the same effect in our authorities. In 1616, Jahangir assigned Jaisalmer to Rawal Kalyan in his tankhwah jagir.<sup>1</sup> Man Singh Gaur was assigned his watan, village Sampia as part of his tankhwah jagir.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, established beyond doubt that watan jagir was a part of tankhwah jagir of a chief and that it was not in addition to his salary against his mansab.

But there was another way in which the revenues of the wa-tan of a chief could be left under his control without assigning these in his tankhwah. The revenues of watan were allocated to the chief concerned as his 'inam'.<sup>3</sup> In 1620, Raja Rup Chand Guleri, who distinguished himself in the Kangra campaign, was rewarded by converting half of his watan into inam; the rest was left to him as his tankhwah or watan jagir.<sup>4</sup> In another case, Jahangir seems to have conferred Kumaon as inam on Bahadur Chand.<sup>5</sup> Under Shah Jahan, a whole principality (the hill chiefdom of Nurpur) is shown to be held as inam:

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.163; Raja Bhim Narain was assigned Gaddha in watan jagir. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.192.
  2. Waqai Sarker Ranthambor wa Ajmer, p.556.
  3. An assignment without any obligation.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.320.
  5. Waris, p.331.

"It was reported (to the king) that Raja Jagat Singh had died at Peshawar, a khilat was sent to his eldest son Rajrup and he was raised to the mansab of 1500/1000. (He) was designated Raja and the mahals of watan which were held by his father as inam, were also conferred upon him."<sup>1</sup>

At the time of chief's first entry into the imperial service, it was not always necessary that the whole of his territory as chief would be recognised as his watan jagir. It was at the discretion of the Mughal Emperor as to how much part of the territory of a chief was to be fixed as his watan jagir. When Prata-p of Palamu entered imperial service, his whole territory was assigned to him as watan jagir against the mansab of 1000/1000.<sup>2</sup> In case of the Hada chiefs of Bundi, we know that whole Ranthambor sarker was held by them in their zamindari;<sup>3</sup> but only a few parcanas namely Bundi, Kankar, Palaita and Kota were assigned in watan jagir to them.<sup>4</sup> Some chiefs might not even be allowed a watan jagir at all. Merta, which was in the zamindari of the Rathor chief Keso Das Maru, was never assigned to him in watan jagir.<sup>5</sup>

1. Lahori, Badrshahnama, II, pp.481-82.

2. Ibid pp.360-61.

3. Ain-i Akbari, II, pp.509-11.

4. Lahori, Badrshahnama, I, p.401.

5. In 1619, Merta was in the k jagir of Prince Khurram. Marwar-Pargana-Sa-Vigat, I, p.106. It was assigned to certain Saadullah, Nasai Aimer, pp.89-90, 112, 377.

Apart from the recognition of chief's territories as watan jāgir, the Mughal Emperor could create the rights of watan jāgir in any part of the Empire. In 1604, Akbar granted pargana Shamsabād to Rāja Rai Singh of Bikāner in watan jāgir.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the za-mīndārs of this pargana were Rāthors; and Abūl Fażl particularly says that the ancestors of the Rāja belonged to Shamsabād.<sup>2</sup> Akbar is also known to have conferred pargana Narāīna in watan jāgir on Narāīn Dās Khangāret.<sup>3</sup> The Mughal Emperor used to encourage the nobles to bring uncultivated land under cultivation, and to establish new settlements. To promote such schemes, the Mughal Emperors created permanent rights in favour of a person who established a town or a city. When Rāja Kishan Singh Rāthor founded Kishangarh, Jahāngīr recognised this place as his watan jāgir.<sup>4</sup>

Upon performance of meritorious services, the Mughal Emperors honoured their Rājput chiefs by bestowing watan jāgirs

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1. Akbar's farmān to Rāja Rai Singh of Bikāner, preserved in RSA, Bikāner;
  2. Ain-i Akbari, II, pp.509-11.
  3. Muhta Nainsi re Khyāt, I, p.304.
  4. Vīr Vinod, p.552; Wāris, p.305; Muhta Nainsi re Khyāt, III, p.217; Imperial Gazetteer, XV, p.317.

upon them. In 1610, when Ani Rai Singh Dalan saved Jahangir's life from a tiger, he was given pargana Anup Shahr in watan jagir.<sup>1</sup> Bethal Das Gaur who had shown steadfastness for Shah Jahan at his accession was granted the territory of Dhundhera as his watan jagir.<sup>2</sup> In 1638, when Shah Jahan conferred the succession to the gaddi of Marwar upon Jaswant Singh, superseding his elder brother Rao Amar Singh, he granted the latter some parganas of sarkar Nagor for his watan jagir.<sup>3</sup> In 1642, pargana Jaler was given to Mahesh Das Rathor in the watan jagir.<sup>4</sup>

Watan ja-gir was also created in the troublesome regions of the Empire so that the holders might be induced crushing the rebels effectively. For crushing Mewati refractories, Shah Jahan assigned Kama Pahari to Kirat Singh Kachwaha in watan jagir.<sup>5</sup>

1. Peter Mundy, III, p.74; District Gazetteer of United Provinces, V, p.148; Tarikh-i Buland Shahr, p.261; K.K. Trivedi, 'Non-Ruling Rajput clans in the Mughal Nobility', PIHC, 1978.
2. Lahori, I, pp.241-42, 250; II, p.8.
3. Marwar ka Pargana ka Vigat, II, p.422; Wagai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.195-96; Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, p.121.
4. Waris, p.308; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, p.446. In 1681, Bhim Singh was given Lelai as watan jagir. Akhbara-t cited by S.R. Sharma, 'The Founder of Benaras Raj', Studies in Medieval Indian History, p.273.
5. Waris, p.138; Khafi Khan, III, p.701; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, p.156; In 1650-51, Masum Quli Khan alias Shujaat Khan, faujdar of Junagarh, who had killed recalcitrant zamindar of Junagarh, built a fort in Masumabad. He petitioned to Shah Jahan for grant of the watandari and faujdar of Masumabad, but he was granted only the faujdar of the place. Mirat-i Ahmadi, Supp., p.216.

On similar considerations, the Dun was given to Chaturbhuj Chauhan in the watan jagir.<sup>1</sup> Further, we find from a Vakil's Report that in September 1693, Ratan Singh Kachawaha solicited the grant of Nau Nehra in watan jagir to quell the rebels there.<sup>2</sup>

We have said that the estimated income (jama) of the watan jagir determined the minimum mansab that had to be assigned to every succeeding Rajput chief. But it should not be considered that the watan jagir remained a fixed unit once it was recognised by the Mughal Emperors. The Emperors could increase or reduce the size of the watan jagir. In 1630, when the Kachawaha nobles distinguished themselves in the war against Jujhar Singh Bundela and Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Shah Jahan increased their watan jagirs as well as mansabs.<sup>3</sup> As for the watan jagir of the Rathor chiefs of Jodhpur, we know that pargana Jodhpur was a small unit until the reign of Raja Gaj Singh, but at a certain time during the reign of Jaswant Singh, other parganas were

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1. Waris, p.302; Sayyid Khan Jahan Barha, noble, desired to get watan jagir to quell the recalcitrants in the vicinity of Gwalior. Maktubat-i Muzaffar Khan, Khan-i Jahan, MS. ff.4a and b.
  2. Waqfi Papers, No.495, RSA Bikaner.
  3. Shah Jahan's farman to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Sarkar Collection, Calcutta. I owe this information to Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan.

annexed to the pargana of Jodhpur former thereafter its sub-units or tappas.<sup>1</sup> This consequently enlarged the extent of pargana Jodhpur which was held by the Rāthor chiefs as their watan jagir.<sup>2</sup> With the enlargement of the watan, the mansabs of the chiefs of Jodhpur at each accession were also raised, as seen below:

Name of the Rāja	Rank at the time of accession	Date	Source
1. Rāja Udai Singh	1000/ 800	1583	<u>Jodhpur Khyāt</u> , I, 207; <u>Rajput Polity</u> , 38.
2. Rāja Suraj Singh	2000/2000	1594	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Rāja Gaj Singh	3000/2000	1619	<u>Tuzuk</u> , 277.
4. Rāja Jaswant Singh	4000/4000	1638	<u>Lahori</u> , II, 97. <sup>3</sup>

The map appended to this chapter shows the changes that occurred in the watan jagirs of the Rajawat chiefs of Āmber. Rāja Mān Singh (1589 - 1614 A.D.) held Āmber and Khāndar in the

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1. In the Aīn-i Akbarī (II, 364, 511) Āsop, Pāli, Āhu, Dandla, Bhadrājun, Indrasti, Palpāra (Pipar), Bilāra, Bahilā, Dunāra, Khinwāsār, Gundoj, Mahewā, etc. have been described as separate parganas, but in the Mārwar Sākār Rānthambor wa Aīmēr (337, 374-5, 382-3, 469, 601) and Mārwar re-Pergan-re Vigat (I, 145-6, 154-5, 164, 168-9, 203-4), these parganas (as tappas) have been mentioned as belonging to the pargana of Jodhpur. Sunita Budhwār, 'Assignment of Jagirs in Rajputana', PIHC, Jadavpur, 1974.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Satish Chandra, Presidential Address, Rajasthan History Congress, Ajmer; G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, 38-40.

watan jagir.<sup>1</sup> In 1614, after Man Singh's death, his successor Bhao Singh was assigned watan jagir in Amber.<sup>2</sup> In 1620, a part of the revenues of pargana Amber was held by Nur Jahan. She seems to have assigned these revenues in iiara (revenue farm) to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.<sup>3</sup> In 1688, Ram Singh held the parganas of Amber and Chakeu in watan jagir.<sup>4</sup> Raja Bishan Singh is known to have held the parganas of Amber, Deoti, Baswa, Newai and Phagi in the watan jagir.<sup>5</sup> We can see from our map that the watan jagir, granted to the Rajawat chiefs, did not form a compact area, but consisted of scattered territories in different sarkars and subas.

A watan jagir was normally not resumed, but in case of specific fault or rebellion of a chief, the Mughal Emperor could resume the rights of watan jagir. In 1615, when Raja Jagman failed to perform satisfactory service in the Deccan, Jahangir confiscated Dhandhera - his watan jagir - and assigned it to

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1. Zekhirat-ul Khawanin, I, p.106.
  2. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.130.
  3. Nur Jahan's nishan to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner; see also S.A.I. Tirmizi, Edicts from the Mughal Harem, 17-23.
  4. Vakil Report (Persian), preserved in the RSA Bikaner.
  5. Ibid., A.D. 1693.

Mahabat Khan.<sup>1</sup> In 1650, when there was a dispute over the question of succession to the seat of Jaisalmer, Shah Jahan seems to have assigned Jaisalmer to Abdul Ghani Khan as jagir.<sup>2</sup> He was also appointed the faujdar of Jaisalmer.<sup>3</sup> In case of the revolt of a Rajput chief, his watan jagir could be resumed. In 1642, when Jagat Singh Pundir rebelled, Shah Jahan resumed his watan jagir which comprised the parganas of Mau, Nurpur and Taragarh and assigned these to Najabat Khan.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes, a part of the watan jagir could be seized. In April 1656, Shah Jahan resumed two parganas namely Swamra and Ramkot, which were in the watan jagir of Bahadur Chand of Kumaon, and assigned them to Rai Makrand, the faujdar and amin of Bareilly.<sup>5</sup> A part of the revenues of pargana Tosina, held by Muhammed Singh in watan jagir, was similarly resumed.<sup>6</sup> These instances go against the statement of the Rathor sardars of Jodhpur who are said to have made to the effect that during the rule of the imperial dynasty, no bumi or zamindar had been turned out of his watan even on the commission of specific fault.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.118.

2. Waris, Padshahnama, p.304.

3. Ibid.

4. Lahori, Badshahnama, II, pp.262, 278.

5. Waris, p.333.

6. Waqai Sarker Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.532-33.

7. Ibid., pp.80-83; cf. M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.79.

### III

Once the chiefs took up Mughal service, they were left free at least partly in the management of their own territories. When the chief obtained mansab, his original territory was usually treated as his watan jagir. Theoretically, this should have meant that the chief could have no more powers in his territory than would be possessed by an ordinary jagirdar, the only difference being that the holder of watan was not subject to transfer. Indeed, some officials such as qiladar, qazis, etc., were appointed by the Emperor within the watan of the Kachawāhas. In 1619, Nasrullah, the son of Fatehullah, who held the mansab of 500/400, was appointed qiladar of Āmber;<sup>1</sup> and in 1680 Sidi Qāsim Khān.<sup>2</sup> A series of references to qazis (judges) appointed to Āmber by the Imperial Court can be traced. Muhammad Salīḥ was appointed qazi of Āmber in 1680.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, Azmatullah was appointed qazi of Āmber in place of Saiyid Muhammad.<sup>4</sup> In 1689, Muhammad Fāzil was made qazi of Āmber by Imperial order,<sup>5</sup> and in

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, p.274.

2. Waqā'i' Papers, n.200, RSA Bikaner.

3. Ibid., n.221, RSA Bikaner.

4. Khatūt-i Ablikhārān (Persian), R.N.24, RSA Bikaner.

5. Waqā'i' Papers, R.N.148, RSA Bikaner.

1692 Muhammad Saeed was given the same office.<sup>1</sup> The Wazai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer shows that the Wazainawis of Ajmer could send his deputy (qumashtha) to Amber.<sup>2</sup>

We find the qazi and qiladar similarly appointed. In 1615, Mulla Jamal was appointed qazi of Chittor.<sup>3</sup> In 1680, Udayat Shaduriya was appointed the qiladar of Chitter.<sup>4</sup>

Sundry cases of appointments of qazis in other watan jagirs are also met with. In 1679, the qazi was appointed in Seipur which was the watan jagir of Manohar Das,<sup>5</sup> The same year a Mughal official called mirqazi in Jaisalmer.<sup>6</sup>

But by and large, except perhaps for the qazi, and qiladar (in case of a fort retained in imperial control), the imperial officials such as faujdars, qanungs and chaudhuris were not appointed in the watan jagirs. Marwar until Jaswant Singh's death had no qanungo.<sup>7</sup> When Jodhpur was annexed to the

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1. Vakil Report, I, p.53, S.N.345, Old n.445.
  2. Wazai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.231, 425.
  3. Vix Vined, II, p.312.
  4. Ma'asir-i Alamaixi, p.196.
  5. Wazai Ajmer, pp.239-40.
  6. Ibida, p.193.
  7. Waris, p.304.

khālisa upon Jaswant Singh's death, a number of Mughal officials such as faujdar, kotwāl, qiladar, kārīkāl etc. were appointed;<sup>1</sup> and these appointments show that until then these offices either did not exist or were not filled by imperial appointees.

The administration of the watan-jāgir was largely carried out by the officials of the chiefs; and an effort is made below to delineate the structure of administration found in the chief's territories in Rajasthan.

The pradhān seems to have exercised an important position in the chiefs' governments. In the absence of the chief, the pradhān used to control the administration. This office is found to have existed in Mewār,<sup>2</sup> Āmber,<sup>3</sup> Jedhpūr,<sup>4</sup> Bikāner<sup>5</sup> and Jaisalmer.<sup>6</sup> In some states, the pradhān was designated vakīl<sup>7</sup> and mushāhib.<sup>8</sup> The office was not necessarily hereditary.<sup>9</sup> But

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1. Wāsi' Ajmer, pp.151, 157-8, 580; Vir Vined, II, p.828.
  2. Prashasti reproduced in Vir Vined, pp.321, 381; Nainsi-re-Khwāt, III, p.11.
  3. Vināt, II, p.293.
  4. Ihida, I, pp.86, 97, 102, 129, 137; II, pp.27, 421, 446; Nainsi-re-Khwāt, III, pp.117-18.
  5. Vir Vined, p.487.
  6. Ihida, p.1766.
  7. In Khandela and Manoharpur, pradhān was called Vakīl; Zakhīrat ul-Khawāīnīn, p.149; Māzāīkul Uṣra, II, pp.173-4.
  8. In Sirki, he was called mushāhib. See, Tuzuk-i Jahānsarī, I, (tr.), p.292; Vir Vined, II, pp.818, 161; Wāsi' Ajmer, p.34. Ted holds that at Udaipur he is called bhanīgarh, at Jaipur pradhān, at Jaipur mushāhib, at Kota qiladar and sikha - a regent. Ted, I, p.216. In Yāmañ Shāskar, written in the 19th century, he is called sachiv and amatiya, pp.2228, 2237.
  9. Ted, I, p.216; Nirmal Rai, Maharaja Jaswant Singh ka Jayan-nama (Hindi), p.117.

this office sometimes did continue generation after generation in the same family. For example, after the death of Shamashah, Rana Amar Singh appointed his son, Jiva Shah, pradhan of Mewar. After Jiva Shah's death, his son Akhey Raj was elevated to this office.<sup>1</sup> It was theoretically a matter of choice for the chief to appoint or remove the pradhan. Raja Suraj Singh appointed Govind Das Bhati as pradhan of Jodhpur.<sup>2</sup> But at least in two cases we know that the Mughal Emperor insisted on having a particular person as p-pradhan. When Jaswant Singh was a minor, Shah Jahan appointed Rathor Raj Singh Khinawat as pradhan of Jodhpur.<sup>3</sup> After the death of Raj Singh in 1640, again the Emperor appointed Rathor Mahesh Das as the pradhan of Jodhpur.<sup>4</sup> However, in 1643, when Jaswant Singh had come of age, he dismissed Mahesh Das from the office of pradhan and appointed Rathor Gopal Das as his pradhan.<sup>5</sup> After the removal of Gopal Das in 1648, Prithvi Singh Govindaset Bhati was appointed to this office.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Vir Vinod, II, p.251.

2. Akbarnama, III, p.820; Vigat, I, p.103.

3. Shahjahan Nama, II, p.43; Vir Vinod, II, p.822.

4. Jodhpur Khyat, III, pp.252-3; Vigat, I, p.125; Banke Das-Khyat, p.30.

5. Jodhpur Khyat, III, pp.252-3.

6. Vigat, II, pp.478-80.

In 1660, Prithvi Singh was dismissed by Jaswant Singh and Rai Bhagwant Das Champawat was appointed the pradhan of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup>

From the above description, it seems that normally only Rajputs were appointed to fill the office of pradhan in Marwar. In Sirohi chiefdom a Baghela Rajput, Ram Singh was the pradhan of Amar Singh Deora.<sup>2</sup> In Bundela territory too, Raja Bir Singh Deo Bundela assigned the office of pradhan to Kirpa Ram Gaur.<sup>3</sup> But in Mewar, the Kayasthas and Banias too were eligible for this office. Bhama Shah, pradhan of Rana Amar Singh, was an Oswal Bania.<sup>4</sup> Bhag Chand, pradhan of Rana Jagat Singh, was a Kayastha.<sup>5</sup> Dayal Das, pradhan of Rana Raj Singh, was again a Bania.<sup>6</sup> In Bikaner and Khandela too, one notices non-Rajput pradhans. Pradhan Karam Chand of Bikaner was a Bachawat Bania.<sup>7</sup> Raisai Darbari's pradhan Mathura Das Bengali was also a non-Rajput.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Vigat, II, pp.478-80; G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, p.131.

2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, pp.172-73; Vir Vined, p.1113.

3. Shaikh Jalal Misari, Gwalior Nama, f.139b.

4. Vir Vined, p.231.

5. Ibid, p.1032.

6. Wazai Ajmer, pp.428, 430-31, 434.

7. Vir Vined, p.487.

8. Zakhirat-ul Khwanin, f.110; Ma'sasir-ul Umara, II, pp.173-74.

In Karauli, Khanda Rai and Nawal Singh, pradhans of Gopal Pal Jadon were both Brahmins.<sup>1</sup>

The pradhan's functions were civil as well as military in nature. Govind Das Bhati, pradhan of Raja Sur Singh brought about changes in the revenue-administration of Jodhpur.<sup>2</sup> Pradhan Muhta Karam Chand of Bikaner supervised the erection of the Bikaner fort in the absence of Rai Singh posted to the Deccan.<sup>3</sup> The pradhan seems to have been in charge of the forts; and without his formal permission, it was not possible to visit the fort. In November 1632, Peter Mundy wanted to visit the fort of Akbarpur which was in the charge of Raja Mitrassen Tunwar; but Mundy dropped the idea because it might have taken much time to obtain permission of the Raja through his pradhan.<sup>4</sup> Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar sent his pradhan Bhag Chand on an expedition against Rawal Samarsi of Banswara.<sup>5</sup> Dayal Das Bania, pradhan of Rana Raj Singh conducted a military campaign in Madalgarh.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Vir Vined, p.1500.

2. Ibid., pp.817-18.

3. Ibid., p.487.

4. Peter Mundy, II, p.167.

5. Vir Vined, p.1032.

6. Waqt Aimes, pp.428, 430-31, 434; Ma'nsir-i Alamgiri, tr. p.126.

The pradhān's position became even more crucial during the absence of the chief. When Raisāl Darbārī was in Deccan, his sons rebelled against him. Mathura Dās Bengālī, the pradhān of Raisāl suppressed the rebellion.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in the absence of Rai Singh of Bikaner, his pradhān Karam Chand Bachawat allured Prince Dilip Singh to kill his father and usurp the throne.<sup>2</sup> In Jodhpur, the pradhān could grant pattas to the sardārs on behalf of the chiefs.<sup>3</sup>

Pradhān also used to conduct war-or-peace negotiations. When Mota Rāja Udai Singh defeated Dungarsī Bhātī, the chief of Bikampur signed a treaty through his pradhān.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Rāja Mā-n Singh sent his pradhān to Rāo Chandra Sen of Jodhpur to acquire the fort of Pokaran.<sup>5</sup> In 1611 A.D., Raja Baso Pundir of Mau deputed his pradhān Purushit Vyās to collect an image from Rāna Amar Singh of Mewā-r.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāññ, p.170.

2. Vīr Vīṇḍ, p.487.

3. Letter from Jaswant Singh to Nainsi, Basta No.12/53, Jodhpur Records, RSA Bikaner; G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, p.131.

4. Vigat, II, pp.84-6.

5. Ibid., I, p.295; Nainsi-rā-Khyā-t, III, pp.117-18.

6. Inscription cited and reproduced in Vīr Vīṇḍ, II, p.227.

In Kumaon, during Raja Lakhmi Chand's reign (1597-1621 A.D.), his brother Sakti Gosain, who was blind, managed the affairs of the State. He appointed three officials known as sardars, faujdars and nagis. Sardars used to administer the districts. The faujdars were military commandants. Nagis (nag-dastur or due) were subordinate officials of the army as well as of the civil administration.<sup>1</sup> During Trimal Chand's reign (1625-1638 A.D.) Narotam Joshi and Dinkar Galli were appointed wazir and chaudhary respectively. Bithal Gosain was assigned the office of diwan.<sup>1a</sup>

The next important office was that of the diwan or desh-diwan. He was appointed by the chiefs. To cite a specific instance, Raja Suraj Singh appointed Joshi Devi Dutt, the diwan of Jodhpur.<sup>2</sup> Sukhmat Subhawat Singhvi was desh diwan towards the end of Raja Gaj Singh's reign.<sup>3</sup> After his death, Pratap Chand Singhvi assumed the office of desh diwan.<sup>4</sup> In 1654, Mian Farzat was appointed desh diwan of Jodhpur.<sup>5</sup> Raghunath Bhati

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1. Kumaon Hills, Edwin T. Atkinson, p.555.

1a. Ibid., p.558.

2. Mujta Naibni re Khyat, I, pp.103, 129.

3. Rajput Polity, p.132.

4. Ibid., p.133.

5. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.255.

was the next person elevated to this office.<sup>1</sup> In 1657, Muhta Nainsi was appointed the desh diwan.<sup>2</sup> After Muhta Nainsi's removal, in 1666, Raghunath Bhati was appointed to the post. He enjoyed the office until Jodhpur was included in khalisa in 1679-80.<sup>3</sup> Suraj Singh of Bikaner appointed diwan by Maheshwari Rathor Muhta Kalyan Keshodaset.<sup>4</sup> Thus Rajput as well as non-Rajputs enjoyed the office of desh-diwan.

In Mewar and Bundi, pradhan discharged the functions of diwan. Sometimes, the diwan was also assigned the functions of faujdar. In 1706, Ram Chand held the offices of diwan and faujdar of Amber simultaneously.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, even the hakim of pargana used to enjoy the office of diwan.<sup>6</sup> The diwan managed essentially the finances of the desh.<sup>7</sup> Muhta Nainsi, the celebrated diwan of Jodhpur, kept a full record of jama and hasil of every village as his Vigat shows. Sometimes even the diwan was

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1. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.255.

2. Vigat, I, p.132.

3. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.254.

4. Dayal Das ra Khyat, p.159.

5. Mutafarriga-i Ahalkaran, Reg. No.171, RSA Bikaner.

6. Vigat, I, p.21.

7. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.250; Tad, III, p.1519.

sent on military expeditions. Muhta Nainsi was sent to capture the fort of Pokaran.<sup>1</sup> In 1624, when there was a tussle between Karan Singh of Bikaner and Amar Singh Nagori over the transfer of Nagor, the former, who was in Delhi, asked his diwan Muhta Jaswant Singh to despatch an army against Amar Singh.<sup>2</sup> Further, when a certain diwan of Budh Singh of Bundi took part in the Battle between Budh Singh and Bhim Singh of Kota, the diwan was killed in battle.<sup>3</sup>

In Jodhpur, during Jaswant Singh's reign, a new post tan diwan was created. The tan-diwan used to help the desh diwan in his manifold duties.<sup>4</sup> But the tan diwan's main functions were to maintain accounts of the salary of pattadars.<sup>5</sup> In 1654, Pancholi Balbhadrat was the tan diwan of Jodhpur, he seems to have misappropriated considerable sums; he was consequently dismissed.<sup>6</sup>

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1: Vigat, II, pp.305-6.

2. Dayal Das re Khyat, p.162.

3. Khasi Khan, II, p.806.

4: Rajput Polity, p.109.

5. Ibid, p.131.

6: Basta No.59/4, Jodhpur Records, RSA Bikaner. Cited in Rajput Polity, p.155, f.n.88.

Similar to the Mughal Bakhshi, an official of the same designation used to be appointed in Jaipur and Jodhpur and Mewār.<sup>1</sup> His duties included maintenance of records of the army and muster of the troopers.<sup>2</sup> He was also the pay-master general of the state.<sup>3</sup> A certain Māya Rām was the bakhshi of Rāja Bishan Singh (1688-1700) of Amber.<sup>4</sup>

The faujdar was mainly a military official. Faujdaras found in the territories of the chiefs seem usually to have been appointed by the chiefs. Bhim Singh appointed Madhav Singh Jhāla the faujdar of Kota.<sup>5</sup> After Mādhav Singh's death, his son Madan Singh got the appointment. After Madan Singh's death, his son Himmat Singh became the faujdar of Kota.<sup>6</sup> In 1593, Gopāl Dās held the office of faujdar of Kota by the chief's appointment.<sup>7</sup> In 1594, Chando son of Isardās was appointed the faujdar of Badnor by its chief.<sup>8</sup> In 1617, Raja Gaj Singh

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1. Vigat, II, p.482; Tod, I, pp.556-57.

2. See the documents Siyāh chohra Ghaura Nagdi, RSA Bikaner.

3. Tod, I, p.557.

4. Arzdasht, pp.53, 91.

5. Vir Vingad, p.1472.

6. Ibid., pp.1472-73.

7. Vigat, II, p.77.

8. Ibid.

appointed Bhati Gopal Das faujdar of Jalore.<sup>1</sup> Faujdars were paid by the chiefs usually through assignment of jagir out of the chief's own territories. In Kota, Madhav Singh, the faujdar was given village Nainta in his jagir.<sup>2</sup> In Amber, Gaj Singh Rajawat was the faujdar of the gash during Sawai Jai Singh's time.<sup>3</sup> In the Panna state of Chhatrasal Bundela, faujdar was appointed in every pargana to maintain the law and order.<sup>4</sup> It seems that usually this office was assigned to the Rajputs. Sometimes, this office was also held by the diwan.<sup>5</sup> In Bundi, the offices of faujdar and qiladar were amalgamated and the qiladar used to discharge the functions of faujdar.<sup>6</sup>

The hakim seems to be the name of a recognised pargana official in Jodhpur and Jaipur. Whenever the chief received parganas in jagir from the imperial court, a hakim was sent to take charge of the pargana on behalf of the chief. In 1615, when Raja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur received Phaledi in jagir,

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1. Vigat, II, p.77.

2. Vix Vined, pp.1472-73.

3. Vakil Reports (Rajasthani), RSA Bikaner.

4. Maharaja Chatrasal Bundela, pp.131-32.

5. Mutafarriga-i Ahalkaran, Reg.No.171, RSA Bikaner.

6. Tad, III, p.1519.

Muhta Jaimal was sent as the hakim of Phalodi.<sup>1</sup> In 1620, when Raja Gaj Singh received Jalor in jagir, Bhati Gopal Das Asawat was appointed the hakim of Jalor.<sup>2</sup> In 1625, when Raja Gaj Singh received Nagor in jagir, a certain Ramo was appointed the hakim of Nagor.<sup>3</sup> In 1660, Bhairav Das Kitawat was the hakim of Badnor.<sup>4</sup> He used to keep the account of the revenues of parganas.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, non Rajputs were also granted the office of hakim, as when in 1615, Jaimal was appointed the hakim of Phalodi, he was a muhta or bania.<sup>6</sup> Besides revenue administration, he used to maintain law and order in the pargana. He seems, therefore, to have maintained troops under his command. A certain hakim maintained 70 foot soldiers.<sup>7</sup> Further, in village Kalyanpur, when a certain person discovered a potential copper mine, the finds were handed over to the hakim of pargana Avari which was in the jagir of Raja Ram Singh of Amber.<sup>8</sup> It seems that the hakims

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1. Vigat, II, p.7.

2. Ibid., p.107.

3. Ibid., p.110.

4. Ibid., p.128.

5. Ibid., pp.7, 107, 110, 373.

6. Ibid., p.7.

7. Ibid., p.308.

8. Arzdasht, pp.25, 26.

were paid according to their status or size of jurisdiction. The hakims of Jodhpur and Merta were paid Rs.200/- per annum.<sup>1</sup> The hakims of Sojat, Phalodi, Siwana and Jaitaran were paid Rs.100/- per annum.<sup>2</sup>

The kotwal or chief of the Police of a town was found in most Rajput principalities.<sup>3</sup> His functions were to maintain law and order in the town. Sometimes, he was sent on expeditions. We find that Govind Das, kotwal, was sent on an expedition against the Buloch during the reign of Raja Gaj Singh of Marwar.<sup>4</sup> In Jodhpur, a shiqdar, performed the duties of the kotwal; the shiqdar was appointed by diwan on behalf of the chief.<sup>5</sup> During the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the office of shiqdar was held by Ragho Das, the son of Kumbh Karan Champawat.<sup>6</sup> During the reign of Raja Ajit Singh Shobawat Dayal discharged the functions of shiqdar (or low-ranking revenue official).<sup>7</sup> However, from the Marwar re Pargana ri Vigat, it seems that the offices

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1. Vigat, II, pp.126, 128.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.482.

4. Ibid., I, p.123.

5. Rajput Polity, p.135.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p.136.

of the kotwāl and shiqdār existed ~~as~~ simultaneously in Jodhpur.<sup>8</sup> It seems that the shiqdārs were assigned pattas in lieu of their services. Under Rāja Jaswant Singh, Jogi Das Kushlawat, shiqdār was assigned pattas worth Rs.500 in the villages of Kudi and Bhathia.<sup>2</sup>

Usually, Mughal Emperors assigned the charge of the forts lying in the territories of the chieftains to these chiefs themselves. The chiefs in turn used to appoint qilādārs to control the forts.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, it seems that even diwān could nominate some person to be qilādār. Muhta Nainsī assigned the charge of Pokaran fort to Manohar Dās Bidawat.<sup>4</sup> But this must have been with the chief's approval.

Thānedārs were appointed in the parganas by the chiefs. In 1615, Sikho was appointed thānedār of Phalodi by Rāja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur;<sup>5</sup> in 1658 Govind Dās Gopāldāsot was the thānedār of Phalodi.<sup>6</sup> The office of hakīm did not dispense with the more

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1. Vigat, II, pp.482-3.

2. Hukumat re-Bahi, p.231.

3. ~~Sikhi~~, II, pp.482-3.

4. Ibid., p.306.

5. Vigat, II, pp.7-8.

6. Ibid., pp.61-3; VIr Vingd, pp.496-97.

lowly one of thanedar.<sup>1</sup> In 1615 Suraj Singh Rathor appointed Muhta Jaimal as hakim and Sikhra as thanedar of the pargana Phaledi.<sup>2</sup>

Potdar (from Pers. fotadar) was the pargana-level treasury official.<sup>3</sup> The word Potdar is a Hindi corruption of the Persian fotadar - the treasurer in the Mughal Official terminology. The revenue collectors used to deposit their collections (hasil) with him.<sup>4</sup> Some allowance was separately claimed from the peasants for the potdar; this being given the name potdari.<sup>5</sup>

Besides these officials, one comes across a number of other petty officials in Marwar, such as kamdar,<sup>6</sup> waqai navis,<sup>7</sup> patwari<sup>8</sup> and munshi.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, a number of daregas were

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1. Narain Singh Bhati, editor of Vigat holds that hakim was also called thanedar, I, p.16.
  2. Vigat, II, pp.7-8.
  3. Hajiqat Bahi, quoted by Jagat Vir Singh, 'Pargana administration in Marwar under Maharaja Jaswant Singh', IHC, Chandigarh, 1973.
  4. Arsatta Pargana Chatsu.
  5. Vigat, II, p.93.
  6. Ibid., I, p.112; II, pp.63, 73, 93, 419, 463. He was the official of patadaras to collect the land-revenue from the threshing field. Rajput Polity, p.112.
  7. Vigat, II, pp.419, 482.
  8. Arzdasht, pp.10, 25.
  9. Vigat, II, p.483; Khatut-i Ahikaran, Jaipur Records, No.10, RSA Bikaner.

appointed to look after the various types of stables, household, mints, harem, stores of cloth etc.<sup>1</sup>

From the above description it would appear that the administrative apparatus of the Rajput chiefs was considerably influenced by the pattern of the Mughal administration.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the jagir system of the Mughal Empire was duplicated on a small scale in most of the larger Rajput principalities. This does not necessarily mean that the patta originated in the jagir system; what is argued is that in its actual working it tended to be closely similar to the Mughal institution. In Marwar, Mewar, Bikaner and Amber territories, we have abundant information about the assignments of the pattas to the sardars and others in return for maintenance of military contingents or in payment for other services. The chiefs not only assigned pattas out of their watan,<sup>3</sup> but also out of their additional temporary tankhwah jagirs.<sup>4</sup> The pattas in Marwar were of two kinds, viz.

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1. Vigat, II, pp.482-83.

2. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.186.

3. Bernier, pp.39, 208; Mughal Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, p.121; V.V., p.780.

4. Hukumat re Bahi, p.230.

chākri-kā patta and gair chākri ka patta.<sup>1</sup> These may correspond to the imperial tankhwāh and in'ām jaḡīrs. In Mewār, Rāna Karan introduced the assignment of patta to his soldiers but Rāna Amar Singh II abolished the transferable nature of the pattas. These pattas were known as the pakka patta or the kāla pattas (permanent assignment).<sup>2</sup> In Mewar, Rāna Amar Singh assigned the pargana of Begun worth 2,50,000 takās to Rawat Megh.<sup>3</sup> In Jaisalmer, there were two types of assignments: (a) bauf which was the permanent assignment, and (b) pattadar which was transferable assignment.

In Kumaon, during the reign of Lakhmi Chand (1597-1621 A.D.), his brother Sakti Gosain systemized the land-revenue administration. He introduced the bisi system as the standard measure of crops. He also marked out the villages for the personal expenditure of the chiefs. These villages were named as but kara villages. Further, we know that the assignments were made to the soldiers in lieu of their services to the state and these assigned villages were known as bisi bandūk.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, on showing valour, the Raja of Kumaon granted land to a person.

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1. C.P. Sharma, Rajput Polity, p.128, 156n.
  2. Vir Vined, p.780.
  3. M.K., I, p.64. For the assignment of pattas by the Rānas of Mewar, see also M.K., I, p.69.
  4. Vir Vined, p.1753.
  5. Atkinson, p.555.

This grant was known as rot. In 1581, when Purshotam Gangoli showed bravery against the ruler of Dati, Raja Rudra Chand granted the land to him in rot,<sup>1</sup> (brave-deed). Besides assignments, to their sardars, servants and others, the chiefs made assignments to their wives, sisters and daughters. Maharaja Jaswant Singh assigned Dahipuro village in pargana Sojat, worth Rs.2000/- to his wife Bhatiyani.<sup>2</sup> Another wife Davri was given the village Dhakri in pargana Sojat worth Rs.2000/-.<sup>3</sup> Rani Hadi held some villages in the parganas of Sojat and Jaitaran in patta.<sup>4</sup> He also granted pattas to his foster sisters (dhai bahan) village Savanio in pargana Sojat, worth Rs.600/-, being assigned to Sarupe, the foster sister of the Maharaja.<sup>5</sup> In 1557, Raja Karan Singh of Bikaner assigned the bhag (revenues) of village Tejasar to Sujande, wife of prince Satruwal.<sup>6</sup> He assigned the bhag of village Tejasar to his daughter Pranmati.<sup>7</sup> In Kumaon, the assignment made to the Dogra (female apartment) was known as pal.<sup>8</sup>

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1. B.D. Pandey, Kumaon ka Itihas, p.263.

2. Hukumat re Bahi, pp.232, 233.

3. Ibid., p.232.

4. Wasai-Aimer, pp.184-85.

5. Hukumat re Bahi, p.232.

6. Bikaner re patta re gavan xi vigat, ed. B.L. Bhedani, p.3.

7. Ibid.

8. Wasai Aimer, p.318..

There were also revenue-grants corresponding to the Mughal madad-i ma'ash. Such lands were granted to the Charans (falconer) Puronits<sup>1</sup> and Vaidhyas (physicians) etc. These grants are known as udak and sasan. Raja Man Singh of Amber is said to have granted six villages to the Charans.<sup>2</sup> Rao Karan Singh of Bikaner made the grant of village Gersar to Charan Thakursi Cholawat.<sup>3</sup> These grants like madad-i ma'ash were treated as permanent assignments. Rarely did a chief resume such grants. When in 1586, Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur revoked the sasan grants of Charans, the latter committed suicide. One of the Charans even complained to Emperor Akbar, but the Emperor did not respond.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in Mewar when Rana Amar Singh II (1698-1710 A.D.) resumed the sasan grants from the Bhats, a number of Bhats committed suicide.<sup>5</sup> In Hukumat re Bahi of Marwar the villages granted to the Brahmins and Vaidhyas are named. The size of the grant in term of revenue varies from Rs.100 to Rs.2000.<sup>6</sup> In

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1. Atkinson, p.566; Vir Vinod, p.779.

2. Vir Vinod, p.1285.

3. Bikaner re Patta re Gavan zi Vigat, p.69.

4. Vir Vinod, p.816.

5. Ibid., p.719.

6. Hukumat re Bahi, pp.233-34.

Bikaner, Rao Karan Singh assigned two villages to Gusain Rughnathji for the maintenance of the temple of Shri Ballabhji.<sup>1</sup> In Kumaon, these grants were called katardar or khanjardar. The Raja of Kumaon instead of signing on these grants used to draw a rude figure of a dagger.<sup>2</sup> In 1602, Raja Lakhmi Chand (1597-1621 A.D.) granted a village to Jagswar Temple.<sup>3</sup> In 1603, he made grant to the Bageswar temple. In 1616, another grant was made to Mahadeo Joshi.

Besides, the chiefs sometimes conferred even bhumi (zamindari) rights upon their sardars. In 1620, a certain sardar was granted bhumi rights in Jodhpur.<sup>4</sup> This again paralleled the Mughal emperors' practice of awarding zamindari rights in special cases.<sup>5</sup> In Jaisalmer, bhumias used to pay Rs.1 annas 4 and paise 7 or Rs.1½ per man to the state. They were also expected to render military service to the chief, but the chief in lieu of this used to pay.<sup>6</sup> The bhumias and thakurs constituted a class

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1. Bikaner re Patta re Gavan ri Vigat, p.3.

2. Atkinson, p.566.

3. For more grants, see Atkinson, p.566.

4. See, B.L. Bhadani, 'The Allodial Proprietors - The Bhumias of Marwar', presented to IHC, Bombay, 1980; available in the Department of History, A.M.U.

5. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp.180-81. See also Satish Chandra, 'A Few Documents pertaining to zamindari from Thikana Records in the former Jaipur State', PIHG, Patiala, 1967, pp.263-64.

6. Vir Wingd, p.1753.

comparable to zamīndār in the Mughal Empire. In Āmber, according to traditions, the Thākur used to pay a fixed peshkash to his overlord. For example, Thākur Puranmalot of Nimera used to pay Rs.10,000/- per annum to the Rājāwat chief of Āmber. Similarly, Thakur Nathawat of Chamau and Thākur Khangārot of Diggī used to give Rs.50,000 and 70,000 to the Rājāwat chief of Āmber.<sup>1</sup> The chief could create a thikana for his favourite sardār. In Jodhpur, Maharaja Jaswant Singh gave village Mayakar as thikāna to Rathor Askaran.<sup>2</sup> The chief also used to enjoy the privilege of sanctioning succession to one of the sons of the deceased thakur. In Bikāner in 1628, after the death of Thakur Manar Dasji of Bhukar-kera, Rāja Suraj Singh conferred succession upon his eldest son Karam Sen.<sup>3</sup> But in Jodhpur in one case, the chief set aside the law of primogeniture and granted succession to a person of his choice. In 1616, after the death of Govind Dās Bhatī of Lewra, Rāja Suraj Singh granted succession to his youngest son Prithvi Rāj.<sup>4</sup> However, from Mewār, it seems that it was considered necessary on the part of a thikānedār to send

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1. VIP Vinod, pp.1338-39.

2. G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, p.124.

3. Dayāl Dās re Khyāt, p.159.

4. M.K., II, pp.156-57; Rajput Polity, p.123.

dastur to every succeeding chief. It was treated as acceptance of the suzerainty.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that some kind of the concept of watan or permanent assignment began to emerge in the Rajput kinglets. Muhta Nainsi has used the word utan which is apparently corrupt form of watan. In case of certain places, he says they were the utan of this or that person. For instance, he says that Deveras held 52 villages of pargana Udaipur in their utan,<sup>2</sup> or that Chyar Chapauri of pargana Udaipur was the utan of Rathors.<sup>3</sup> There is an interesting piece of information about the creation of watan in Jaisalmer, Rawal Kalyan Das (1614-1627 A.D.) conferred Lathi village as utan upon a certain Jaswant Singh.<sup>4</sup> This shows some kind of permanent rights of watan holders. But owing to the paucity of evidence it is not possible to understand the full significance of such assignments.

The Rajput chiefs had their own systems of estimation of the revenue-paying capacities of various localities so as to

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1. Vir Vinod, p.755.
  2. M.K., I, p.36.
  3. Ibid.,
  4. Ibid., II, p.79.

enable patta-assignments to be made properly. These were the equivalents of jamadami in the Empire. In Marwar the estimates were called rekh, and in Amber tan.

Recent study has established that the rekh and tan terms are equivalent to the Mughal term jamadami.<sup>1</sup> These estimates were built on a certain amount of information collected about actual revenue realization. The wagai navis of Ajmer reported at the time of the annexation of Jodhpur, that the chiefs of Jodhpur maintained the revenue-records in Hindi.<sup>2</sup> But our best evidence for this is Muhta Nainsi's Marwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat in which the detailed information about the revenues of Marwar is set out village by village. From Amber come the Arsattas, the well-known detailed documents setting out revenue of Rajawat chiefs of Amber (later Jaipur).<sup>3</sup> These records present a full information about the land-revenue and cesses which were collected from the peasants.

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1. See, Sunita Buchwar, 'The Mughal Administration of the sabha of Ajmer', unpublished thesis, Department of History, A.M.U., 1977; S.P. Gupta, 'The  jagir system during the evolution of Jaipur State (c.1650-1750), PIHC, 1978, Aligarh.
  2. Wagai Ajmer, p.163.
  3. Arsattas of different parganas, SAR, Bikaner.

As for the land-revenue demand, it seems that it varies from region to region. In some parts of Mārwar, the land-revenue was taken at the rate of  $1/3$  of produce,<sup>1</sup> while in Āmber and Jaisalmer, it was  $1/2$ <sup>2</sup> and  $1/8$  respectively. These variations were partly dependent on the fertility of the soil or the kind of crops grown, partly on customary institutions. By and large, it would seem that the land-revenue in Rājput States was levied on the same principles as in the Mughal Empire. In Jaisalmer it might have been comparatively moderate, but otherwise it is as harsh as in the Mughal Empire. One interesting feature was the concessions given to certain castes such as Rājputs, Brahmins, etc., who constituted upper village strata in most areas.<sup>3</sup>

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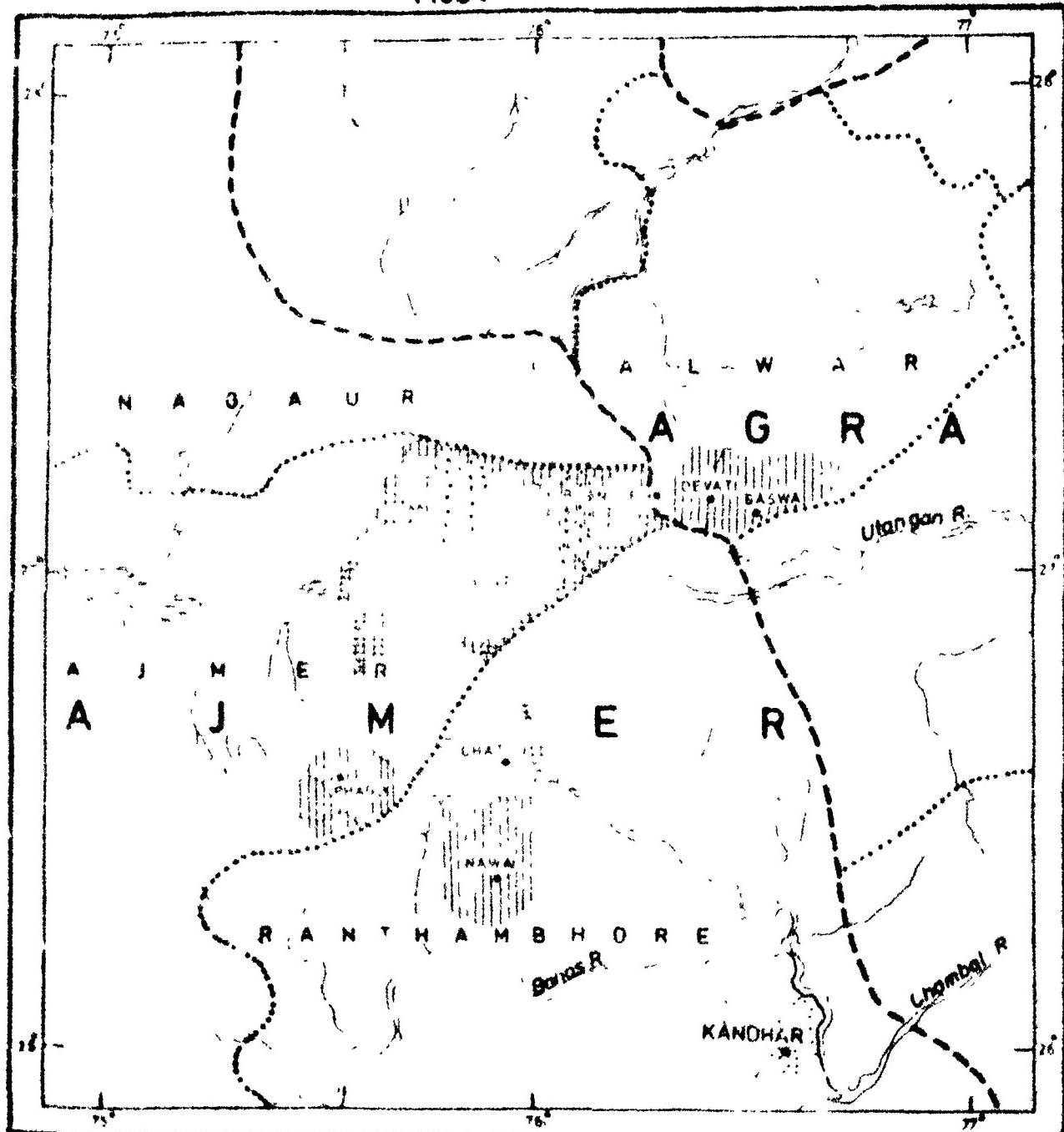
1. Mārwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, 96-97; 326.

2. Areas of parganas Āmber, Narāna and Bhātri.

3. Ain-i Akbarī, I, 505; Ted, II, 226.

According to Shyāmal Dās, in some regions of Jaisalmer state,  $1/11$  of the land-revenue was alienated from the peasants. Vip Vinod, pp.1752-54; Sunita Budhwar, The Mughal Administration of the suba of Ajmer (unpublished thesis, Department of History, Aligarh).

WAJAN JĀGĪRS OF RĀJAWAT CHIEFS OF AMBER  
(1604 - 1700 A.D.)



- [Solid Line] Wajan Jāgīr 1614
- [Dashed Line] Wajan Jāgīr 1688
- [Dotted Line] Wajan Jāgīr 1693

— — — Suba Boundary

..... Sarkar Boundary

AAZIZ

## Chapter V

### MUGHAL PARAMOUNTCY AND CONTROL OVER SUCCESSION

The question of control of succession among 'Native Princes' by the Paramount Power was a matter that attracted much legalistic debate during British rule, notably in relation to the proclamation of the Doctrine of Lapse. The Mughals do not seem to have developed a well-thought out theory, but their practice seems to have been clear enough. The Emperors are known to have frequently intervened to regulate succession to the chiefdoms of the Rājput ruling clans in their service.<sup>1</sup> Such interventions by the Mughal rulers were generally accepted by the chiefs and their sardārs without much resentment or protest. It was only in the case of Aurangzeb's action in setting aside the claim to succession of the posthumously-born sons of Jaswant Singh in favour of Indra Singh that the exercise of this prerogative by the king led to a rebellion. A case,

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1. The Emperors used to mark the tika on the forehead of every succeeding chief. In case a chief was exempted from coming to the Court for this ceremony, some nobles of the Emperor were sent to the succeeding chief's headquarters for performing the ritual. Sometime after coming to the throne, Aurangzeb assigned the task of applying the tika on the foreheads of the succeeding chiefs to his wazir Asad Khān. In May 1679, he abolished this ritual as it was considered violation of the spirit of Sharīat. But this did not at all detract from his power to regulate succession among the Rājput clans in his service. Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, pp.106, 289; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp.172-76. Sri Ram Sharma's statement based on Ma'asir-i Alamgiri that Shah Jahān delegated the power of applying the tika to his wazir is not borne out from the perusal of Ma'asir-i Alamgiri (The Religious Policy of the Mughals, pp.52, 108).

however, is made out by Athar Ali that even in this case, "Aurangzeb was not stepping beyond custom and precedent in overlooking Ajit's claim and selecting Indra Singh".<sup>1</sup> It is implied in this statement that the resentment of Rāthor sardārs over what they might have regarded as the violation of custom by Aurangzeb was not an important factor contributing to their rebellion. On the other hand, in a recent study, G.D. Sharma has contended that Indra Singh's succession was in violation of the custom. He says, "the Rāthors' apprehension was that the acceptance of Indra Singh as the ruler of Jodhpur would establish a precedent by which a direct descendant of a Rāja could be divested (of succession) by the Mughal Emperor".<sup>2</sup> But before one accepts any one of these views as finally established, it would be best to ask one important question: Was there a generally accepted prerogative of the Mughal Emperor, applicable to all Rājput clans or chiefdoms, so that one could speak of a uniform practice or precedent in Mughal India.

In the ensuing discussion evidence of the practice followed by the Mughal emperors in each one of the Rājput clans

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1. M. Athar Ali, 'Causes of the Rāthor Rebellion of 1679', PIHC, Delhi, 1961, p.140.
  2. G.D. Sharma, 'Marwar War as Depicted in Rajasthani Sources (1678-79 A.D.)', Journal of Indian History, Vol. 43, No.1, 1975, p.54.

is analysed separately. This discussion is arranged here in a chronological order. An attempt is also made to ascertain whether the forms in which the Mughal rulers intervened in the affairs of individual clans conformed to the customs observed in the same clans before their joining the service of the Timurid rulers.

The earliest known case of imperial intervention in a Rājput succession dates back to 1576 A.D. when Akbar debarred Dudā, the eldest son of Surjan, the Hārā chief of Bundī, on the charge that he had collaborated with Rānā Pratāp.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that this did not evoke protest or objection from any section of the Hārā sardārs, and this might be construed as indicating their tacit acceptance of the Emperor's right to intervene in such matters. It would appear that among the Hāras the custom provided for the overlord's right to exclude a person from succession or to depose a chief and grant succession to any other member of the ruling family. In 1554, for instance, Sultān, the chief of Bundī, had been deposed and his nephew, Surjan was enthroned by his overlord Rānā Udai Singh of Mewār.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Muhta Nainsī-rē-Khyāt, I, p.112; Surya Mal Mīr, Vāman Bhāskar, ed. by R. Asopa, pub. Bafna Book Depot, Jaipur, Vol. V, pp.2324-2348.

2. Muhta Nainsī-rē-Khyāt, I, pp.109-10; Vār Vinod, I, p.108.

From the case cited above it seems that after Surjan Hārā joined Akbar's service in 1569 the customary privileges of the overlord previously enjoyed by the ruler of Mēwār were transferred to the Mughal Emperor. There is ample evidence indicating a tendency on the part of the Mughals to occasionally exercise these privileges to regulate the affairs of the Hārā ruling family. In 1683, Aurangzeb decided to instal at Kota, the deceased chief's uncle Kishor Singh, setting aside the claim of his nephew Ram Singh who was favoured by the sardārs.<sup>1</sup> Similar cases of intervention by the Mughal rulers in the affairs of the Hārās during the early 18th century are also on record. Bahādur Shāh excluded the sons of Rām Singh from succession as punishment for the chief's action in opposing him in the war of succession.<sup>2</sup> Farrukhsiyar went a step further when in 1712, he dispossessed the ruling chief Budh Singh and placed on the gaddī Bhim Singh, son of Rām Singh.<sup>3</sup> These cases go to show that the customary powers of an overlord to regulate succession within the family of Hārā chiefs were exercised by the Mughal Court down to the first quarter of the 18th century without evoking a hostile response from any section of the Hārās.

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1. Nuzkha-i Dilkhusha, MS. British Museum, No.R.O.271, ff.91a & b; Ma'asir-ul Umarī, III, p.510; Vīr Vīnād, II, 1411.
  2. Ma'asir-ul Umarī, II, p.324; Vīr Vīnād, II, pp.1413-1416.
  3. Ma'asir-ul Umarī, II, 324; Vīr Vīnād, II, pp.1413-1416.

The Timurid rulers also exercised powers to partition or re-unite the existing chieftainships within Hārā ruling family. According to Lāhorī in 1631, after the death of Rāo Ratan, Shāh Jahān assigned Rāo Ratan's watan Bundī and Kankar to his grandson Shatrusāl and Kota and Falaita to his younger son Mādho Singh.<sup>1</sup> But in 170<sup>7</sup>, after the death of Rām Singh, Bahādur Shāh re-united the two principalities by assigning Kota to Budh Singh, a the chief of Bundī.<sup>2</sup> In the early history of Mēwār there existed a precedent for this measure. In 1527, Rānā Ratan Singh had divided the territory of Dungarpur between two brothers, Jagmāl and Prithvī Rāj.<sup>3</sup> The Hāras sardārs seem to have acquiesced in the decisions of the Mughal rulers to split and then re-unite their principality. One may guess that on account of their long association with Mēwār as a subordinate clan, the Hāras were influenced by the custom prevailing in that kingdom.

There are on record two cases of intervention by the Mughal rulers to regulate succession in the Bhāṭṭī ruling clan of Jaisalmer. In 1616 A.D. Hawal Bhīm died without leaving

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1. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, Bādshāh Nāma, I, p.401; Bankē Das-rā-Khyāt, p.149; Vams Bhaskar, N, pp.2530-44.

2. Ma'āsir-ul Umara, II, p.324.

3. Muhta Naīnsī-rā-Khyāt, I, pp.70-73; Vīr Vīnod, I, pp.1005-7.

behind any issue. Jahāngīr acting at his own initiative tried to end uncertainty within the clan by granting the tīka to Bhim's younger brother Kalyān.<sup>1</sup> The other case is of Shāh Jahān's intervention after Rāwāl Manohar's death in 1649, to exclude from the gaddī Rām Chandra, a distant relative of the deceased ruler who was sought to be installed as chief by the sardārs.<sup>2</sup> On this occasion, Shāh Jahān granted the tīka to Rāwāl Manohar's nephew Sabal Singh,<sup>3</sup> which was eventually accepted by Bhāti sardārs without any protest. This was an interesting precedent as it suggests that the Mughal Court was anxious that the succession should remain confined to the immediate circle of the chief's kinsmen.

On the death of famous Kachawaha chief, Mān Singh in 1614 Jahāngīr granted the tīka to his surviving son Bhāo Singh. From Jahāngīr's remarks in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī regarding Bhāo Singh's elevation to the gaddī of Amber, one gets the impression that in his own estimate, he considered his decision as amounting to a partial violation of the custom regulating succession in the Kachawaha clan.<sup>4</sup> It seems that he was told by those supporting

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.159-60; Muhta Naīnsī-re-Khyāt, II, pp.98-102.
  2. Muhta Naīnsī-re-Khyāt, II, p.103; Vīr Vīned, p.1764.
  3. Amal-i Salih, II, p.117; Muhta Naīnsī-re-Khyāt, II, p.93. Vīr Vīned, II, p.1764.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.130. In text Mahā Singh has wrongly been described as the father of Jagat Singh. But in Regers' translation of Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, this mistake has been corrected. (Pub. Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1968, I, 266).

the claim of Mahā Singh, son of Mān Singh's deceased eldest son Jagat Singh that by their custom, succession should strictly adhere to the principle of primogeniture, the right of the eldest son when dead passing on to his son. But the fact remains that they eventually acquiesced in Jahāngīr's decision without any protest. It goes to suggest that Jahāngīr's decision on this occasion was within the customary framework and the aggrieved party was not in a position to make an emotional issue out of it. As a matter of fact there did exist a precedent in the early history of the Kachawaha clan that could be cited in support of Jahāngīr's decision.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the Kachawahas, there is also a case in which the Mughal Emperor tried to replace a reigning chief by a person of his own choice. But this move was firmly resisted by clan as a whole and finally the king was forced to restore status quo. In 1707, Bahadur Shah removed Sawai Jai Singh from the gaddi and installed his younger brother Bijay Singh, since Jai Singh had opposed him in the war of succession; when Sawai Jai Singh resisted the move, his watan Amber was taken in the khaliq.<sup>2</sup> But Sawai Jai Singh continued his struggle till his restoration

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1. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'Customs and Practices Regulating Succession among Rajput Ruling Clans in the Mughal Service', PIHC, Hyderabad, 1968.
  2. Tazkirat-us-Salatin Chahta, p.24; Ma'mir-ul-Umara, II, pp.81-82; Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, pp.30-31.

to the gaddi of Amber in 1712.<sup>1</sup> This suggests that the Rājput clans submitted to the decision of the Emperor in such matters only when he was confining himself to custom. But whenever the king tried to impose any decision which was totally violative of the customary law they did not hesitate in resisting.

In the Baghela clan, it is interesting to note that in 1592 when Balbhadr, chief of Bhatta died, Akbar did not approve the succession of the deceased's son Bikramajit who was a minor.<sup>2</sup> Even on the insistence of the sardārs of Bhatta, Akbar refused to grant the succession to Bikramajit.<sup>3</sup> After nine years, in 1601, Akbar installed Duryodhan, a younger son of Balbhadr on the gaddi of Bhatta.<sup>4</sup>

In the Bundela clan, in 1607, when Rām Chandra revolted, Jahāngīr dislodged him from the gaddi of Orchha and conferred the succession upon Rām Chandra's younger brother Bīr Singh Deo who was a favourite of Jahāngīr.<sup>5</sup> In 1628, when Jujhār Singh, son of Bīr Singh rebelled against Shāh Jahān, the latter dispossessed

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1. Tazkirat-us-Salatin Chaqta, pp.24, 26, 34, 45, 272, 289, 327, 350; Ma'ārif-ul-Umarā, II, pp.81-82.
  2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.641, 648.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid., p.788; Muhta Naīnī-re-Khyāt, p.133; Ma'ārif-ul-Umarā, II, pp.136-38.
  5. Ma'ārif-ul-Umarā, II, pp.212-13.

the former from the gaddi and restored it to the family of Rām Chandra. Rām Chandra's grand son Debi Singh was elevated to the throne of Orchha.<sup>1</sup>

Further, in 1618, when Suraj Mal Pundir of Mau rebelled, Jahāngīr dethroned him; his younger brother Jagat Singh was elevated to the gaddi.<sup>2</sup> In 1623, when Jagat Singh sided with Prince Shāh Jahān, Jahāngīr deposed him from the throne of Mau and installed his younger brother Mādho Singh on the gaddi. But after Jagat Singh's submission to Jahāngīr, the gaddi of Mau was restored to him.<sup>3</sup>

In the Bhaduriya clan son from a concubine was considered to be illegitimate and therefore he was not allowed to succeed. In 1643, when Kishan Singh died, he left only a son born from his concubine. Shāh Jahān set aside his claim and conferred the tika on Kishan Singh's nephew Badan Singh.<sup>4</sup>

The solitary known case of intervention by the Mughal Emperor to regulate succession in Sisodia ruling clan of Mewar

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1. Ma'āsir-ul-Umra', II, pp.212-13.

2. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p.264.

3. Ibid., II, p.289.

4. Lāhorī, Bādgashhāhnāma, II, p.348.

deserves special notice though it is of dubious authenticity. If true, it points to a tendency on the part of the Mughals to uphold established custom. On the death of Rāna Rāj Singh in 1680, the sardars placed on the gaddi his younger son Bhim Singh. The eldest son Jai Singh felt aggrieved and approached Aurangzeb to set aside Bhim Singh's succession. Aurangzeb intervened to remove Bhim Singh. The title of Rana and the tīka of Udaipur was granted by the king to Jai Singh.<sup>1</sup>

A survey of the cases of Mughals' intervention to regulate succession among the Rāthor ruling clans of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Kishangarh go to show that by and large they tried to adhere to the principle of direct succession from father to son. In case of a chief dying without leaving behind a son the succession of brother<sup>2</sup> or nephew<sup>3</sup> was normally recognised; there was no Doctrine of Lapse in case of failure of direct heirs.

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1. Futūhāt-i 'Alamgīrī, MS. BM. 23884, Rotograph available in the Department of History, Aligarh, ff.80a and 81a.  
It seems doubtful if this is a true version of events. Rāj Singh died when in rebellion, and Jai Singh succeeded him well before the peace made by him with Aurangzeb.
  2. In 1613, after the death of Rao Dalpat of Bikaner, Jahāngīr granted the succession to his younger brother Suraj Singh. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.126; Dayāl Dās re Khyāt, ed. by J.S. Khichi and D. Sharma, 1947, Bikaner, pp.25-26; Vir Vined, p.491. In Kishangarh, after the death of Shahs Mal in 1628, his brother Jagmal succeeded him. In 1629, after Jagmal's death, his brother Hari Singh succeeded him. Vir Vined, II, p.527.
  3. In 1643, when Hari Singh of Kishangarh died issueless, Shāh Jahan sanctioned the succession to the deceased's nephew Rup Singh. Lahori, Pādshāh Nāma, p.373; Vir Vined, II, p.527.

However, in an exceptional situation, the Mughal rulers did not hesitate to interfere in the customary law of the clan and used their discretion to settle the question of succession. For instance, in 1581, after the death of the rebel Rāo Chandra Sen of Jodhpur, there was dispute over succession among the sons of the deceased chief.<sup>1</sup> Akbar superseded the claims of direct heirs and sanctioned the tīka to a person of his own choice. The dead chief's brother Udai Singh who was already in Akbar's service was elevated to the gaddi of Jodhpur.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, the right to depose a reigning chief and replace him on the gaddi by a favourite chosen from amongst persons eligible for succession was occasionally exercised. For instance, when Rāja Jaswant Singh sided with Dārā Shukoh in the war of succession, Aurangzeb at one stage, deposed the Rāja from 'rājgī' and 'marzbānī' of Jodhpur and bestowed them upon his nephew Rāo Rai Singh of Nāgor.<sup>3</sup> But after his accession, the new Emperor revoked his earlier order and Jaswant Singh continued as the Rāja of Jodhpur.<sup>4</sup> In January 1667, Aurangzeb deposed

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1. Vir Vinoda, pp.814-15.

2. Ibid.

3. Muhammad Kāzim, Ālamqirnāma, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1866, p.288.

4. Abūl Fazl Māmūrī, Tarīkh-i Aurangzeb, MS. B.M. R.O. No.1671, f.108a.

Rao Karan of Bikaner who had rebelled and enthroned his son Anup Singh.<sup>1</sup> This right exercised by Aurangzeb was supported by one clear precedent in the early history of Sisodia chief's relations with the clans subordinate to him.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Rāthers of Mārwar, there was the peculiar custom of giving precedence to the son of the favourite Rani over other sons including the eldest one. This custom was respected by the Mughals. In 1594, after Udai Singh's death, his younger son Sur Singh being a son of the favourite wife of the dead ruler, was awarded the gaddi.<sup>3</sup> On the same ground, in 1638, after Gaj Singh's death, Shāh Jahān sanctioned the succession of his eleven-year old son Jaswant Singh and the claims of his elder brother Amar Singh were overlooked.<sup>4</sup> But apparently the Mughals regarded this practice a deviation from the general custom and in this respect they were prepared to make an exception only in the case of Mārwar chiefs. When a similar custom was sought to be invoked in Bikaner, the move was summarily scotched

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1. Aurangzeb's farman to Anup Singh, dated January 11, 1667, RSA, Bikaner; Nuskha-i Dilkusha, MS. 33a & b.

2. Op. cit.

3. Mārwar-re-Pargana-re-Vīga-t, ed. Narain Singh Bhati, I, p.93; Banks Daas-re Khvat, p.25; Vir Vinod, II, p.817.

4. Lahori, Padshāh-nāma, II, pp.97-98; Mārwar-re-Pargana-re-Vīga-t, I, p.123; Vir Vinod, p.822. To pacify Amar Singh, Shah Jahan conferred on him the title of Rao and some mahals in the pargana of Nāgor as watan-i-qair.

by Jahāngīr. In 1611, when Ray Rai Singh tried to enthrone his younger son on the plea that the latter was from his favourite wife, Jahāngīr did not confirm the succession and awarded the tīka to the eldest son, Dalpat.<sup>1</sup>

From a closer examination of the positions taken by Aurangzeb after Jaswant Singh's death in 1678 over the question of succession to the gaddi of Jodhpur it emerges that while all the time trying to ensure Indra Singh's continuation as the new chief,<sup>2</sup> he was anxious to give an impression of adhering to the existing custom that by and large conformed to the principle of primogeniture. It is, for example, borne out by Aurangzeb's announcement, in July 1679, that, when Jaswant Singh's sons, (who had already been brought to Delhi by this time)<sup>3</sup> "would come of age, mansab and rāj would be granted (to them)".<sup>4</sup> The fact that Aurangzeb was obliged to make such a statement in spite of having already granted the tīka to Indra Singh is very significant. The implication of this announcement was that after the sons of the deceased Rāja had come of age, one of them would

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.106; Ma'ārif-ul-Umarā, II, pp.153-54.

2. Ma'ārif-i 'Alamgīrī, pp.175-76.

3. Ibid., p.177.

4. Ibid.

replace (or at least succeed) Indra Singh on the gaddi of Jodhpur. But on the other hand, it is obvious that from the very beginning Aurangzeb was anxious to ensure Indra Singh's succession; and after having granted the tika to him on 26 May 1679,<sup>1</sup> he was not prepared to revoke it. The manner in which he hastened to announce the conferment of the tika on Inder Singh even after getting the news of the birth of Jaswant Singh's sons<sup>2</sup> indicates his real anxiety in the matter. Similarly, after these children were brought to his presence and their being legitimate sons of the deceased Rāja was fully established, Aurangzeb apparently tried to take shelter behind the plea that succession of an infant was not permissible. In this context, it is interesting to note that while indicating the age limit for succession, he chose to remain ambiguous. He did not clearly say that minors were excluded from succession as this would have gone against the precedent set by his predecessor by giving tika to Jaswant Singh at the age of eleven.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, the Rathor sardārs were not impressed by the fine distinction that Aurangzeb tried to draw between a minor and an infant and were convinced that by installing Indra Singh on the gaddi after rejecting the claims of the sons of the Rāja, the king was committing a flagrant

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1. Ma'āsir-i Ālamgīrī, pp.175-76.

2. Ibid., pp.172-73.

3. Og. cit.

violation of their custom. After the Rāthor sardārs escaped from Delhi with Ajit, the surviving infant,<sup>1</sup> Aurangzeb resorted to a plea that the sole surviving son of the Rāja was with him and the child named by the rebelling Rathors as Ajit Singh was only a pretender.<sup>2</sup> Thus, it would appear that down to 1688, when Muhammadi Rāj died,<sup>3</sup> Aurangzeb continued to stick to the fiction that he would place the surviving son of the deceased Rāja on the gaddi at an appropriate time. In this, Aurangzeb exposed himself to a contradictory position. After having already recognised Indra Singh as the lawful ruler of Jodhpur, how could he remove him from that position at a later date without violating the custom. There did not exist any precedent justifying the removal of a chief without establishing a charge of rebellion or disloyalty against him. The Rāthor sardārs could not have missed this obvious contradiction in Aurangzeb's position. Apparently, they desisted from raising this point in their negotiations with the royal officers as it could have involved an admission that Indra Singh was already installed on the gaddi which they were not prepared to concede at any cost. It is, therefore, quite understandable that, on the one hand,

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1. Mu'āsir-i 'Alamgīrī, pp.178-79.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.318; Futūhāt-i 'Alamgīrī, p.144b.

they firmly rejected Aurangzeb's assurances as of no consequence and on the other hand, continued to argue their contention that in the presence of Jaswant Singh's son no one else could succeed to his gaddi.<sup>1</sup>

From this discussion, it emerges that while using their prerogative of conferring the tīka, the Mughal rulers, by and large adhered to the principle of primogeniture and the customs of the clans.<sup>2</sup> This practice was generally accepted by the Rājput chiefs. They would ordinarily submit to a decision of the king, setting aside a candidate favoured by them provided his choice did not violate the framework of the customs of the respective clans. In this respect, problems arose only when the limits set by custom to the overlord's discretion were sought to be deliberately ignored by the Emperor. In the case of the Rathors of Jodhpur in 1679, Aurangzeb did take a position which though ostensibly consistent with the general principle underlining the customary law in effect violated the form in which it was applied to that particular clan. In the eyes of Rājhor sardārs apparently, there was no justification for excluding a person

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1. According to the Rājhor sardārs of Jodhpur, "the zamīndāri of the country of Mārwar was the property of Rāja Jaswant Singh and after his death by the law of inheritance the zamīndāri of the country devolves on his sons. In the presence of the sons of the late Jaswant Singh, Indra Singh had no right to succeed". Waqī Sarkār Ranthambor wa Ajmer, transcribed copy, Department of History, Aligarh, pp.245-46.
  2. Hasan, Nurul, 'Zamindars under the Mughals', Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, p.20 (pub. University of Wisconsin, 1969).

from succession on the plea that he had not come of age. They were convinced that Aurangzeb was using this plea to transfer chiefship to a different branch of the ruling family by circumventing the custom, and it was this that provoked them into defiance.

The reaction of the Rathor sardars, however, entirely based on moral indignation against changing the line of succession. Indar Singh was supported by sardars who had been exiled from Jodhpur to Nāgor where they had accompanied his grand father. They were now coming back triumphant to claim a dominant position in the state. Their return would naturally eclipse, and very probably, destroy those who had served Jaswant Singh and had so far ruled the roost in Marwar. Inevitably they were not, at any cost, prepared to accept Indar Singh as the chief. So long as Jaswant Singh's queens had not given birth to the infants, it could not be known whether they were to be sons or daughters; so Jaswant Singh's sardars had willy nilly to be passive. At that time they were prepared to go to the farthest in offering submission simply in order to avoid Indar Singh. Thus Rānī Hādi declared to prefer Jodhpur's inclusion into the khālisa territory instead of accepting Indar Singh as the chief of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup> But

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1. Wagāj Barker Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.277-78.

the birth of the sons changed the situation entirely.<sup>1</sup>

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1. In a recent study, Hallissey (The Rajput Rebellion Against Aurangzeb, pp.92-3) offers a different interpretation. He says that the Rāthor sardārs were annoyed with Jaswant Singh who, with the help of the Mughals, adopted a policy of centralization which ultimately hampered the clan-authority in Jodhpur state. Consequently, after Jaswant Singh's death, his sardārs looked forward to reassert their clan-authority. He, further, holds that though Inder Singh's succession on the seat of Jodhpur was legitimate, the Rāthor sardārs refused to accept him as their chief with the idea that he, being the candidate of Aurangzeb, would continue the policy of Jaswant Singh to submerge their clan-authority. This led the sardars to oppose Inder Singh in favour of Ajit's succession.

## Chapter VI

### THE RĀJPUT MARRIAGES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE

One important aspect of the relationships between the Timurid rulers and the Rājput nobles was a tendency on the part of the Mughal rulers and princes to take into marriage the daughters and nieces of the Rājput chiefs in their service. These so-called matrimonial alliances came into vogue simultaneously with the entry of the Rājput chiefs into the Mughal service in considerable strength under Akbar. As is well known, the first chief to enter the Mughal service and offer his daughter in marriage to Akbar was the Kachawaha chief, Bhār Mal.<sup>1</sup> The other Rājput chiefs who followed in his footsteps, were the Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur,<sup>2</sup> Bikaner<sup>3</sup> and

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1. Tarikh-i 'Alfi, MS. f.145; Akbarnāma, II, pp.157-58; Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, p.50; Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.256; Zubdat-ut Tawārikh, MS. f.148a; Iuzuk-i Jahānsirī, p.7; Yabīlīnāma-i Jahānsirī, f.155; Tarikh-i Dilkusha, MS. f.539b; Khyālat-ut Tawārikh, f.374; Muntakhab-ut Lubāb, pp.158-59; Ma'sā'ir-ul Umara, I, pp.111-12; Tazkirat-ul Umara, MS. 'B'; Tod, p.376; Mulla Abdul Baqi, the author of Ma'sā'ir-i Rahimī (I, p.694) says that Akbar married the daughter of Bhagwān Dās which is incorrect.
  2. Bānka Dās ra Khyāt, p.20; Tod, II, p.22; Vir Vīṇād, II, 174.
  3. Akbarnāma, II, p.358; Dalpat Vilas, 14-15; Tarikh-i Ma'ādan-Akhbār-i Ahmadī, MS. f.251b; Vir Vīṇād, 174, 485. According to the above sources, Kalyān Mal gave his niece in marriage to Akbar. But the authors of Tarikh-i Alfi, MS. f.223, Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, p.133, Zubdat-ut Tawārikh, MS. f.172a, and Muntakhab-ut Lubāb, I, p.175, incorrectly say that Kalyān Mal gave his own daughter in marriage to Akbar.

Marta,<sup>1</sup> the Bhātī chief of Jaisalmer<sup>2</sup> and the Ghelot chief of Dungarpur.<sup>3</sup> But all these, unlike Bhārmal, joined Akbar's service and established matrimonial ties with him only after he had captured Chittor and overrun most of Mewar.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, it was on account of the early cooperation that the Mughals received from the ruling family of the Kachawahas that these came to be treated by the former as most favoured among their Rājput nobles. The Kachawahas and to a lesser degree the Rāthors<sup>5</sup> were given the particular privilege of giving their daughters and nieces to Mughal princes in marriage throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> Apparently, in the cases of other chiefs such marriages were contracted only at the time of their entry into the royal service; and the princesses married did not receive the high status accorded to those from the Kachawaha and Rāther houses.

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1. Mēwār-rā-Pargana-rā-Vīqāt, II, pp.69-70.
  2. Akbarnāma, II, p.358; Vīr Vīnād, II, p.174.
  3. Akbarnāma, III, pp.196, 210.
  4. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar, and the Development of His Religious Policy, 1560-80', Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1968, pp.32-33.
  5. Another Rājput clan who remained exceptionally devoted to the Mughal cause, once they had joined the service down to 21 R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign.
  6. See Appendix 'C'.

While assessing the position of the Rājputs in the Mughal service, it would, therefore, be appropriate to examine the nature and working of these marriages between the Rājput clans and the ruling family in some depth.

One may examine this problem in the following manner: First of all one should assess the available evidence regarding the various factors that were responsible for Akbar's policy of establishing matrimonial ties with the Rājput clans in his service. Secondly, one may compare the total number of marriages contracted with the Rājput princesses by Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh-jahān and Aurangzeb to ascertain whether this tendency becomes prominent with the passage of time or it recedes into background after Akbar; or there are different phases when such marriages are encouraged or discouraged.

## II

One of the factors, which seems to have led to the policy of establishing matrimonial ties with the Rājput chiefs, was the existence of a well established practice among the Timurids of securing the loyalties of the chiefs by marrying into their families. There are numerous instances to illustrate

this tendency. Yusuf Mirak, the author of Mazhar-i Shāh Jahānī, a local history of Sindh, compiled during Shāh Jahān's reign, says that Arghuna and Tarkhāna (who also belonged to Timurid tradition) used to marry the daughters of the chiefs of Sameja Unra, a local tribe of Sindh.<sup>1</sup> Bābur and Humayun also married the daughters of the local chiefs to secure their loyalties. On 28 January 1519, Bābur married Mubarak Begam, a daughter of Malik Shāh Mansoor, the chief of the Yusufzais, with a view to conciliate 'the Yusufzai hordes'.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in 1555, Humayun married the daughter of Jamāl Khān Mawatī, 'to soothe the mind of the zamindārs'.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, it was also an established practice amongst the Rājput chiefs to have similar ties with the non-Rājput groups in a subordinate position to them. They used to take as their wives girls belonging to the non-Rājput bhumia families of their regions without making many distinction on the basis of caste. The Kachawaha chiefs, for instance, used to

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1. Mazhar-i Shāh Jahānī, p.90.

2. Bābur Nāma, tr. A.S. Beveridge, p.373.

3. Akbar Nāma, II, p.48.

marry into the families of the Meena chiefs.<sup>1</sup> The Meenas appear to have been displaced by the Kachawahas as the leading zamindārs of the Amber region sometime before 1560. They still constituted a considerable section of the local landed class down to the end of the 17th century.<sup>2</sup> In establishing matrimonial ties with them, the Kachawahas must have been motivated by a desire to conciliate the Meena chiefs.

A practice already existed among the Rājputs to agree to give their daughters in marriage to the non-Rājput superior chiefs and rulers. From Appendix 'B', it is evident that this tradition dated back to the middle of the 15th century. A scrutiny of the evidence relating to individual cases, however, reveals that most of these marriages took place owing to the pressure of circumstances. For example, in 1445, Rāja Bhān of Idar, after he was defeated by Mahmud Shāh of Gujarat, married his daughter to the latter.<sup>3</sup> Rāo Jodha (1415-1488), gave his daughter in marriage to Shams Khān Qayam Khānī, the chief of

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1. Mubta Nainsiwa-Khyat, I, pp.312, 324. Bhar Mal's brother Rāpel and Raisal Darbārl had wives belonging to the Meena and Jāt communities.
  2. Between 1557 and 1560, Bhar Mal ousted the Meena chief from Lawan. See, Jainayaki-Vangavali, MS. pages are unmarked; Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, pp.282-83; Vir Vined, II, p.1276; Jalowr ka Itihas by H. Sharma, p.70.
  3. Mirat-i Sikandari, p.49; Vir Vined, II, p.995.

Jhunjnu, to save himself from the threat of the Qiyām Khānis.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, a daughter of Rāo Lun Karan of Bikaner (1470-1526 AD) was married to Nahār Khān Qiyām Khāni to end a long standing feud between the two families.<sup>2</sup> Māldeo (1511-1562 AD), the ruler of Jodhpur, also established matrimonial ties with his three non-Rājput neighbours. He gave his daughters in marriage to Islām Shāh Sur<sup>3</sup> and the latter's commander, Hājī Khān,<sup>4</sup> the hakim of North-Eastern Rājputana. Another of his daughters and a grand-daughter were married to Sultān Mahmud Saigra of Gujarat.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Qiyām Khān Rāsa, pp.36-37, Shams Khān Qiyām Khāni belonged to the Chauhan Rajput family of Darara. His forefathers were converted to Islām during Sultān Firoz Shāh's reign (Qiyām Khān Rāsa, pp.13-14; Muhta Nainsei-ra-Khyāt, III, pp.373-75). Shams Khān had matrimonial alliance with Sultan Bahloī Lodi (Qiyām Khān Rāsa, p.37). Fadan Khān, one of the descendants of Shams Khān, joined the service of Humayun. After Humayun's death, Fadan Khan gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar. From Ain-i Akbarī (MS. f.248a), it appears that the Qiyām Khānis had zamindari rights in Fatehpur and Jhunjnu of Shaikhawati. Jahangir gave Fatehpur as giltaman īaqiq (गितमान इकीक) to Alaf Khān (Qiyām Khān Rāsa, p.39). On 26 November 1620, Alaf Khān was given the charge of Kangra fort and his mansab was fixed at 1500/4000 (Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.320). During Aurangzeb's reign, a sardar of Qiyām Khānis, Alaf Khān held a mansab of 1500/700 (Kiamair Nāma, p.290). M. Athar Ali (The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.201) holds that Alaf Khan was an Afghan which is, obviously, a slip. He was not an Afghan but he was a Shaikhzādā. For detailed study, see, Sunita Buchwar, 'A Qaim Khāni Shaikhzada Family of Fatehpur - Jhunjnu', PIHC, Hyderabad, 1978.
  2. Qiyām Khān Rāsa, p.49.
  3. Banke Dās ra Khyāt, p.20.
  4. Afsāna-i Shāhan, MS. f.178b; Mārwanī-rā-Pargana-rā-Vīqat, I, p.52; Banke Dās ra Khyāt, p.20.
  5. Mārwanī-rā-Pargana-rā-Vīqat, II I, p.52; Banke Dās ra Khyāt, 28.

and Daulat Khān, the chief of Nāgor<sup>1</sup> respectively. It would appear that having established these ties with his three powerful neighbours, Māldeo had become very influential and he expanded his territory at the cost of smaller chieftains.<sup>2</sup> Māldeo came to be regarded as "the most potent chieftain of Hindustān" by the Persian chronicles of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Further, Bhār Mal who gained the throne of Amber after ousting Askaran, offered his daughter in marriage to Hājī Khān<sup>4</sup> to wean away the latter from his rival Askaran and secure Hājī Khān's support for his claim to the seat of Amber. Similarly, Viram Dave Rāther of Merta, after having been ousted from Merta by Māldeo, gave his daughter in marriage to the chief of Jālore, a Muslim, in the hope of re-occupying Merta with his help.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes such marriages would be made in the hope of receiving rewards. For

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1. Wadiyat-i Muqtabāsī, MS. f.56b; Tarikh-i Daudī, p.156; Banke-Bāg-e-Khyāt, p.20.
  2. In 1531, when Māldeo became the Rāja, he had Jodhpur, Sojet and Jaitsaran under his sway. Later on, he conquered a number of neighbouring parganas. He extended his possessions by subjugating Bhadrājun, Jālore, Siwana, Sānchor, Phaledi, Merta, Bikaner, Ajmer, Chittau, Tonk, Toda, Mālpura and Sāmbhar. See, Marmar-e-Pargana-e-Vinat, I, pp.43-45.
  3. Akbar Nāma, II, pp.160, 197; Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, I, p.439; Tahāsat-i Akbarī, p.205; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.277; Tarikh-i Shahī, p.163.
  4. Jaipur-i Vanashayali, MS. pages are unmarked.
  5. Mārmār-e-Pargana-e-Vinat, II, pp.52-54.

instance, Karamīl Rāther of Merta, who gave in marriage his sister to Daulat Khān Nāgorī, received Khinwasar village of Asop pargana.<sup>1</sup> Such marriages are also traceable in Kashmir where the Sultāns established matrimonial alliances with the hill Rājput chiefs. Bahādur Singh, the chief of Kishtwar (1570-1588 AD) gave one of his daughters in marriage to Sultān 'Alī Shāh.<sup>2</sup> Another daughter of his was married to a nephew of the Sultān.<sup>3</sup>

### III

A perusal of Appendix 'C' giving a list of marriages contracted by the Mughal rulers, from Akbar down to Aurangzab, highlights certain interesting features of the Mughal policy in this respect.

Firstly, it would appear that in most cases the establishment of matrimonial ties accompanied the entry of the

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1. Banks Pāī re Khvāst, p.67. Asop pargana was in the sarkār of Jodhpur. See, Aīn-i Akbarī, III, p.276.
  2. Ishqāt-i Akbarī, III, p.498.
  3. Ibid., p.499.

chiefs concerned into royal service. For instance, in January 1562, Bhār Mal joined Mughal service and as a part of agreement gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in 1570, Rāī Halyān Mal of Bikaner gave his two nieces in marriage to the Emperor and joined the Mughal service.<sup>2</sup> About the same time, Rāwāl Har Rāī of Jaisalmer married his daughter to Akbar<sup>3</sup> and Rāo Chander Sen of Jodhpur married his sister to the Emperor and entered royal service.<sup>4</sup> In 1573, while entering into an agreement with Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot, it was made a condition that the Rāja would give his daughter in marriage to Akbar.<sup>5</sup> In March 1577, at the time of joining the Mughal service, Rāwāl Askaran of Dungarpur gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.<sup>6</sup> In 1581, Kesho Dās Rāthor of Merta married his daughter to the Emperor and entered the royal service.<sup>7</sup> In May 1597, Rāja Lachmi Narain of Ceoch Bihar's entry in the Mughal service was

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1. Akbar Nāma, II, pp.157-58; III, p.35; Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, p.191; Ishāq Nama-i K Jahangiri, p.252.
  2. Akbar Nāma, II, p.358; Daulat Vilas, pp.14-15; Āīn-i Akbarī, p.182.
  3. Akbar Nāma, II, p.358; Āīn-i Akbarī, p.184.
  4. Bānka Dās re Khyāt, p.20; Vīr Vined, II, p.174; Āīn-i Akbarī, p.182.
  5. Akbar Nāma, III, p.36.
  6. Ibid., pp.196, 210.
  7. Mārmār-re-Pargana-re-Vīast, II, pp.69-70.

accompanied by the establishment of matrimonial tie.<sup>1</sup> It is quite understandable that the chiefs, entering the royal service, should be called upon to attach themselves to the royal family by special ties. This would explain the large number of such marriages taking place during Akbar's reign when most of the important Rājput clans joined imperial service. During the reigns of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb the number of such marriages seems to have declined. As the/marriages evince, during the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, respectively, 34, 7, 4, 8 marriages are recorded of Mughal Emperors and princes with princesses from families of local chiefs.<sup>2</sup> A different pattern is found in the number of matrimonial ties contracted by the Mughal Emperors with the different families of Mughal nobilities.<sup>3</sup>

However, the two leading families of the Rājput chiefs, namely Kachawahas of Amber and Rāthorw chiefs of Mārwār, were

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1. Jaipur ki Vanashavali, MS. cf. also Akbar Nama, tr. H. Beveridge, p.1068, N.2.

2. See, Appendix 'C'.

3. Afzal Husain, 'Marriages among Mughal nobles - an index of Status and Aristocratic integration', PIHC, 1972. According to the table furnished by the author, the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb saw 71, 47, 41 and 73 such marriages respectively.

singled out for a special treatment in this respect. As already observed, the Mughal rulers continued to take brides from these two houses down to Bahādur Shāh's reign.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that in this respect, the Rājawat sub-clan of the Kachawahas was the most favoured family till the end of Akbar's reign.<sup>2</sup> But apparently after Jahāngīr's accession, a sort of parity was maintained between the Kachawahas and the Rāthors. In all, down to Bahādur Shāh's time, there took place 7 marriages with princesses belonging to the house of Jodhpur while 5 brides were taken from the Kachawaha chiefs of Amber.<sup>3</sup> The details of marriages in Rājput families after Akbar are as follows:

Jahāngīr's first Kachawaha wife, daughter of Bhagwant Dās, committed suicide on 6th May 1605.<sup>4</sup> Three years later in

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1. In March 1714, Ajit Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur gave his daughter in marriage to Farrukh Siyar. See, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, p.738; Ma'āfir-ul Umarā, III, p.757.
  2. Cf. Badauni, Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, p.341. It can be clearly deduced from the manner in which Salim's marriage with Bhagwant Dās' daughter is reported that it was his first wedding. The fact that a girl from the Kachawaha ruling family was selected to become the first legal wife of the heir apparent, clearly indicates that till then this particular family enjoyed a special status among the Rājput chieftains in royal service.
  3. See Appendix 'C'.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.26; Tarīkh-i Dilkyusha, MS. f.577a.

1608 A.D., Jahāngīr asked Mān Singh for the hand of his granddaughter (a daughter of Jagat Singh), which amounted to conferring a special honour upon the Kachawaha clan.<sup>1</sup> Although Jahāngīr was not happy with the Rāja on account of his collaboration with Khusrav on the issue of succession, he preferred to maintain the matrimonial ties with the Kachawaha ruling family.

Jahāngīr also established matrimonial tie with the Bundila chief of Orchha. In 1609, after the revolt, when Rām Chandra submitted, he gave his daughter in marriage to Jahāngīr.<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that during the period of Khusrav's revolt, matrimonial ties contracted between the Kachawaha and the Rāthor clans. In 1625, another Kachawaha princess, the sister of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh, was married to Dāwar Bakhsh.<sup>3</sup> Earlier to this, in 1624, Prince Parvez married the sister of Rāja Gaj Singh.<sup>4</sup> But Shāh Jahān, who was born of a Rāthor

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.68, 69; Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, MS. f.57a; Mu'atkhāb-ul Lubāb, I, p.259; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.141-42; cf. Athar Ali (The Mughal Nobility under Akbar, p.142) who suggests that it was regarded as a sign of honour for a noble that his daughter should be demanded in marriage by a Mughal Emperor.
  2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.77.
  3. Akbhārāt, 20th R.Y., J.N. Sarkar Collection, Calcutta.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.380.

princess<sup>1</sup> and was himself married to a Rāthor princess during Jahāngīr's life time<sup>2</sup> did not have a Kachawaha wife. But in 1654, Prince Sulaiman Shukoh married the daughter of Rāo Amar Singh of Nāger.<sup>3</sup> One of the noteworthy features of Shāh Jahān's reign was to establish matrimonial ties with the hill Rājput chiefs. Prince Shuja is known to have married the daughter of Rāja Gaur Sen of Kishtawar.<sup>4</sup> In 1658, when Sulaiman Shukoh was in Srinagar-Garhwal, he married the daughter of Rāja Prithvi Singh.<sup>5</sup> During Aurangzeb's reign, the number of marriages between the members of the royal family and princesses from the Rājput families remained almost same.<sup>6</sup>

IV

When Jahāngīr married Jagat Singh's daughter, her maternal grandfather Bhoj Māra of Bundī who was also in royal

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1. Akbar Nāma, III, p.603; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīri, p.8.
  2. Mārvār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.111; S.R. Sharma (The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, p.79) says that Shah Jahān did not marry a Hindu princess but from Mārvār-re-Pargana-re Vigat, a contemporary Rajasthani source, it appears that Shah Jahān married the daughter of Rāo Sakat Singh, son of Metā Rāja.
  3. Wāris, Bādshāh Nāma, p.481; Vir Vīrog, II, pp.342-43.
  4. Lāherī, Bādshāh Nāma, II, pp.434-35.
  5. Maqum, ff.153a, 156a.
  6. See, Appendix 'C'.

service expressed his resentment over it. Jahāngīr was greatly displeased with the Hāra chief on account of this attitude.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact such a prejudice on the part of the Haras and their disapproval of the marriages between the daughters and nieces of Rājput chiefs with the Mughal Emperors went back to Akbar's reign. In 1569, Surjan Hāra of Ranthambor submitted to the Mughals and had taken up service under Akbar on the condition that he would not be asked to give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the Haras this feeling was also shared by a number of individual chiefs belonging to certain other clans. It appears that, to begin with, a section of the Rāthor chiefs of Mārwār were also opposed to the idea of the establishing matrimonial ties with the imperial family, but the opposition had been usually overruled by the reigning chief. For instance, in 1585, Kallā, a nephew of Mata Rāja, strongly objected to the marriage of the Rāja's daughter with Prince Salim, but his objection was disregarded by the Rāja, and ~~sxymsaxxkakex~~ upon his showing disaffection, he was destroyed a year later with the help of the Mughals.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Zakhīrāt-ul Khawāñīn, I, p.295; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', I, 141-42.

2. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, p.383; Vir Vined, II, pp.84, 85.

3. Vir Vined, II, p.182.

It is probable that at the heart of the matter was the question whether the Mughal Imperial family was or was not superior in status to the Rājputs. As we have seen the Rājputs were not averse to themselves marrying for political reasons women from lower castes; but the idea of 'giving daughters' to them was not acceptable. Even the Rājput chiefs intervened in the matters where the lower castes tried to marry in the upper castes. According to Muhta Nainsī, a Meena bhumia of Bundi wished to marry a daughter of a Brahman, the latter resisted and sought protection of the Hara chief.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Shyamal Dās informs us that when a certain Dungar Bheel tried to marry the daughter of a mahajan by force, Rāwal Bir Singh Ghelot of Dungarpur intervened in the matter and punished the Bhells.<sup>2</sup> Thus to the loyal Rājput chief's refusal to give a princess to the Mughal Court might signify contempt for the status of the dynasty he himself served; on the other hand, the fact still remained that the Imperial Family was of another religion, and the princess who married, went out of the fold of her forefathers. The political loyalty here conflicted with the ritualistic prejudice of ages; and yet the former so frequently worn out.

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1. Muhta Nainsī ra Khyāt, I, p.97.

2. Vir Vined, II, p.1005.

There is no basis for the assumption that the Rājput chiefs who established matrimonial ties with the Mughal Emperors were treated as out-caste. Such assumption, often reflected in the writings of modern historians,<sup>1</sup> is entirely based on Tod's testimony which is not corroborated by the contemporary authorities. On the contrary, if one studies the pattern of matrimonial ties among the leading Rājput families during the period 1547-1667, it would emerge that the chiefs whose daughters were married to the Mughal rulers and princes continued to be treated as the members of the caste and no stigma attached to them on account of their relationship with the royal family or for that matter any other Muslim superior chief. For example, the Sisodias and Hāras of Bundi did not give their daughters in marriage to the Mughal Emperors but they married their daughters to these very Rājput chiefs who had matrimonial ties with the Mughal Emperors, or, like the Rātheras, with some Muslim chiefs.<sup>2</sup>

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1. H. Goetz, 'The Policy of the Grand Mughals vis-a-vis Rajput States', Indian Culture, XIV, p.94, 1948, Calcutta; Raghuveer Singh, Purva Adyunik Rajasthan, p.42; M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims, pp.258, 359.
  2. There took place a number of marriages among the Sisodias, Hāras, Bhātīs and the Rātheras.
    - (a) Rāna Sāṅga (24th March 1481-April 1527) of Mewar married Dhan Bāī, the daughter of Va'āgh, the son of Rāo Suja Rāther (M.K., I, p.102).
    - (b) Rājkanveri, the daughter of Māldeo Rāther (4 Dec. 1511 - 9 Nov. 1562) was married to Surtān, the son of Surjan Hāra. (M.P. vs Vigat, I, p.53; B.K., p.20).

The Kachawahas of Amber and Rathors of Jodhpur and  
Bikaner who were the first Rājput clans to establish matrimonial

contd.....

- (c) Rāimal, the son of Maldeo Rāthor, married Rattan Kanverī, the daughter of Surjan Hāra (1554-1585) of Bundi. (B.K., 19).
- (d) Rāna Udai Singh (4 Aug. 1522 - 28 Feb. 1572) of Mewar married Karmavati, the daughter of Rāo Chandra Sen of Jodhpur (B.K., p.22).
- (e) Rāi Ray Singh Rāthor (1541-1611) of Bikaner married Jaswantde, the daughter of Rāna Udai Singh Sisodia of Mewar (D.V., pp.12-13).
- (f) In 1637, Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur married Rām Kanverī, the daughter of Chatarsāl Hāra of Bundi (Wagai Ajmer, p.241; M.U., I, pp.405-06; M.P. re-Vigat, II, p.462; M.L., II, p.43).
- (g) In 1655, Jaswant Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur married the daughter of Biram Deva Sisodia (Wāris, p.298; M.U., II, p.881).
- (h) Jaswant Singh (1627-1678) of Jodhpur married a Sisodia princess of Mewar (Bernier, p.37).
- (i) Jaswant Singh married the daughter of Sorab Sisodia (M.U., I, p.754).
- (j) Mahā Rāna Amar Singh (26 March 1560 - 30 Oct. 1620) of Udaipur married a daughter of Rāwal Amar Singh Bhāti of Jaisalmer (V.V., II, p.1764).
- (k) In 1622, Amar Singh, the son of Gaj Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur married a princess of Udaipur (M.P. re-Vigat, I, p.107).
- (l) Karamsī Rāthor of Merta married the sister of Rāna Jagat Singh of Udaipur (Padshāh Nāma, Lahori, II, p.198).
- (m) Bhān, son of Sakat Singh Sisodia and the grandson of Rāna Udai Singh, married Rāj Kanver, the daughter of Mota Rāja of Jodhpur (M.K., I, 26).
- (n) Rāna Sāṅga's son Bhej Rāj married the daughter of Viram Deva Rāthor of Merta (Vir Vined, p.362).
- (o) Rāna Rāj Singh (1652-1680) married Chārumati, the daughter of Rāja Roop Singh Rāthor of Kishangarh (V.V., p.476).
- (p) Rāna Rāj Singh married the daughter of Sabal Singh Bhāti of Jaisalmer (V.V., p.476).
- (q) In 1652, Anoop Singh of Bikaner married Rāna Rāj Singh's sister (Ibid., p.401).

contd....

ties with the Muslim rulers at an early date continued to enjoy a high status in the Rājput society. Precisely, during the period they established matrimonial ties first with Afghān chief, Hājī Khān, and later on with the Mughal rulers, they went on contracting similar ties with the other Rājput clans without apparent difficulty.

V

The establishment of matrimonial ties between the Mughal ruling family and the Rājput clans was the direct outcome of the recruitment of the Rājput chieftains into the imperial service in considerable strength. According to the established custom of the Timurids and the Rājputs, the hereditary chiefs entering into the service of a ruler were expected to offer their daughters or nieces in marriage to the members of the ruling family. Apparently, the caste restrictions were not considered by many, though not all Rājput clans, binding enough to prohibit such marriages. Even prior to these matrimonial ties with the Mughal ruling family, the Rājput chiefs were having similar ties with certain Muslim chieftains of Northern Rājputana and Gujarat.

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contd.....

(x) Mirzé Rāja Jai Singh married a sister of Rāja Jagat Singh of Pundir (Zakhīr-ul-Khawāīn, III, p.122).

In most cases, the marriage of a Mughal ruler in the family of a Rājput chief would take place only once, that is, when the chief of that particular clan entered royal service. This would explain the fact that the largest number of such marriages took place during Akbar's reign. In this respect an exception was made in the cases of Rājawat chiefs of the Kachawaha clan and the Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur. These two families were given the privilege of marriages with the Imperial house down to the end of the seventeenth century. The privilege was most frequently accorded to the Rājawat chiefs till Jahāngīr's time; but from Shāh Jahān's reign onwards, it seems, the Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur were given precedence. Such inter-marriage was thus proclaimed as a sign of status of the particular Rājput family within the Mughal nobility and was by no means a badge of disrepute.

Appendix 'A'

MARRIAGES CONTRACTED BY THE MUGHAL RULERS  
WITH THE GIRLS BELONGING TO THE FAMILIES  
OF LOCAL CHIEFS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,  
DOWN TO HUMAYUN'S DEATH - 1555.

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S.No.	Date	Timurid Rulers	Racial Characteristics of local chiefs	Sources and
1.	28th Jan. 1519	Bābur married Mubērak Begam, the daughter of Melik Shāh Manṣoor, the chief of Yusuf Zais	Yusuf Zai (Kābul)	<u>Bābur Nāma</u> , tr. A.S. Beveridge, p.375.
2.	Date is not men- tioned	Humayun married daughter of Jamāl, the brother of Hasan Khān Mawātī	Shaikhzādā	<u>A.N.</u> , II, p.48.

Appendix 'B'

LIST OF THE MARRIAGES BETWEEN THE DAUGHTERS OF  
IMPORTANT CHIEFS OF RĀJPUTANA AND THE NON-RĀJPUT  
RULERS, MUSLIMS AS WELL AS NON-MUSLIMS IN CHRO-  
NOLOGICAL ORDER TILL 1562.

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S.No.	Date	The Rājput chiefs who gave their daughters in marriage to Non-Rājput chiefs	Racial characteristic of Non-Rājput chiefs	Sources and Remarks
1.	1445 AD	Shāh of Idar gave his daughter in marriage to Mahmud Shāh of Gujarat.	Gujarat	<u>Mīrāt-i-Sikandari</u> , p.49, tr.23; <u>Vir Vingd</u> , II, 995.
2.	1415-1488	Rāo Jodha, the chief of Mārwar, gave his daughter in marriage to Shams Khān Qiyam Khāni, chief of Jhunjnu & Fatehpur	Qiyām Khāni (Jhunjnu & Fatehpur)	<u>Qiyam Khan Rasa</u> , pp.36-37.
3.	13 Jan. 1470 - 29th June 1526	Rāo Leon Karan's daughter was married to Nāhar Khān	-do-	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.49.
4.	4 Dec. 1511 9 Nov. 1562	Ratnāvatī, the daughter of Māldeo was married to Mājī Khān a commander of Salim Shāh Sur	Afghān	<u>Afsāna-i Shāhn</u> , MS. f.178b; <u>M.P.-re-Vigat</u> , I, 52; <u>B.K.</u> , p.20.
5.	-do-	Kankāvatī, the daughter of Māldeo was married to Mahmood Baigra of Gujarat	-- --	<u>M.P.-re-Vigat</u> , I, p.52; <u>B.K.</u> , p.20.
6.	-do-	Lāl Bāī, the daughter of Māldeo Rāther of Jodhpur was married to Sur Pādshāh (perhaps Islam Shāh Sur)	Afghān	<u>B.K.</u> , p.20.

7.	13 Jan. 1538 - 23 July 1595	One of the daughters (Nāgor) of Merta Rāja of Jodhpur was married to Chiram Khān of Nāgor	M.P.-re-Vigat, I, p.89. Chiram Khan is not identified.
8.	31 July 1541-1581	Dīpan Bāi, the daughter (Nāgor) of Rāo Chander Sen, the son of Māldeo was married to Daulat Khān of Nāgor	Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, MS. f.56b; Tarikh-i Daudi, p.156; B.K., p.22; V.V., II, 808.
9.	1547 - Jan. 1574	Bhār Mal married one Afghan of his daughters to Hājī Khān	Jaipur ki Vanashavali MS., pages are unmarked
10.	Date is not mentioned	Rāwāl Pa-ta of Rārodhra married his Afghan widow daughter to Gajni Khān, chief of Jālor	M.K., II, p.97.
11.	-do-	Viram Deva Rāther (Jālore) (1477-1543) of Merta gave his daughter in marriage to a chief of Jālore	M.P.-re-Vigat, II, pp.52-54.
12.	-do-	Karamsī Rāther of Merta gave his sister Bhāga Bāi in marriage to Daulat Khān Nāgorī	B.K., p.67.

Appendix 'C'

MARRIAGES CONTRACTED BY THE MUGHAL RULERS  
WITH THE GIRLS TAKING FROM THE FAMILIES  
OF THE LOCAL CHIEFS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER  
FROM 1562 TO 1707

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AKBAR

S.No.	Date	Marriages	Racial characteristics and place	References and other Remarks
1.	Jan. 1562	Akbar married the daughter of Rāja Bhār Mal	Kachawaha (Amber)	T. Alpi, MS. p. 145; A.N., II, 157-58; M.T., 50; Z.T., MS. p. 148a; T.J., tr. p. 7.
2.	Jan. 1563	Akbar married the daughter-in-law of Shaikh Bādah of Āgra	(Āgra)	M.R., I, 694-5; T.D., MS., p. 539b; K.T., 374; M.L., I, p. 159; M.U., I, pp. 111-12; M.T., II, 61.
3.	9th Aug. 1564	Akbar married the daughter of Mian Mubarak Shāh of Khāndesh	(Deccani) (Khāndesh)	A.N., II, 230-31; T. Alpi, p. 615.
4.	15th Nov. 1570	Rāi Kalyān Mal gave his niece in marriage to Akbar	Rāther (Bikaner)	A.N., II, 358; D.V., 14-15; M.T., 133; V.V., II, 174, 485.
5.	-do-	Rāi Kalyān Mal gave another niece in marriage to Akbar. She was daughter of Bhīnve Rāj, a brother of Kalyān Mal	-do-	D.V., 14-5.
6.	-do-	Akbar married the daughter of Rāwāl Har Rāi of Jaisalmer	(Bhāti) (Jaisalmer)	A.N., II, 358; V.V., II, 174.
7.	Nov. 1570	Rukmavati, the daughter of Māldeo was married to Akbar	Rāther (Jodhpur)	Nuskhā-i-Dilkushā, tr. p. 18; B.K., p. 20; Tod, II, p. 22; V.V., II, 174.

8.	1573	Akbar married the daughter of Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot	Nagarkot	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 36.
9.	March 1577	Akbar married the daughter of Rāwāl Āskaran of Dungarpur	Gehlot (Dungarpur)	<u>Ibid.</u> , 196, 210.
10.	1581	Kesho Dās married one of his daughters to Akbar	Rāthor (Merta)	<u>M.P.-re-Vigat</u> , II, 69-70.
11.	16th Feb. 1584	Prince Salim married the daughter of Bhagwant Das	Kachawaha (Amber)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 451; <u>M.T.</u> , II, 341; <u>T.J.</u> , 7; <u>Lahori</u> , II, 603-4; <u>T.D.</u> , MS. 577a; <u>Z.K.</u> , I, 105; <u>M.L.</u> , I, 189; 245-46; <u>M.U.</u> , I, 189; <u>K.T.</u> , 375.
12.	26th June 1586	Akbar married the daughter of Said Khān Gakkhar	Gakhar	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 494.
13.	-do-	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Rāi Rāi Singh of Bikaner	Rāthor (Bikaner)	<u>Ibid.</u> ; <u>M.T.</u> , II, 353; <u>Tod</u> , II, 145; <u>V.V.</u> , II, 168-69.
14.	1587	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Mota Rāja of Jodhpur	Rāthor (Jodhpur)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 603; <u>T.J.</u> , tr., 19; <u>M.J.</u> , 10a; <u>M.L.</u> , I, 24546; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 180-81; <u>T.U.</u> , 155; <u>Tod</u> , I, 267; <u>V.V.</u> , II, 182, 815.
15.	1590	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Mirzā Sampat	Hazāra	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 582.
16.	1st Jan. 1592	Prince Salim married the daughter of Ali Rāzi, the ruler of Tibet	Tibet	<u>Ibid.</u> , 603; <u>M.T.</u> , 376.
17.	October 1592	Akbar married the daughter of Shams Cak of Kashmir	Cak (Kashmir)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 626.
18.	-do-	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Mubārak Khān, the son of Hasan Cak of Kashmir	Cak	<u>Ibid.</u>

19.	20th April 1593	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Rāja Ālī Khān of Khāndesh	Deccani (Khāndesh)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 639.
20.	2nd Oct. 1595	Danial married the daughter of Rāi Mal, the son of Rāi Maledo	Rāthor (Jodhpur)	<u>Ibid.</u> , 696.
21.	May 1597	Akbar married the daughter of Rāja Lachmi Nārain of Cooch Bihar	Cooch Bihar	<u>Jaipur ki Vanshavali</u> , pages are unmarked; cf. also <u>A.N.</u> , tr. H. Beeveridge, 1068, f.n.2
22.	March 1604	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Adil Khān of Bijapur	Deccani (Bijapur)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 827; <u>T.D.</u> , MS 576b; <u>M.L.</u> , I, 216.
23.	Date is not men- tioned	Akbar married the dau- ghter of Fadan Khān Qiyām Khāni	Shaikhzādā (Fatehpur & Jhunjnu)	<u>Qiyām Khān Rās</u> , 54.
24.	-do-	One of the daughters of Rāo Chander Sen Rāthor of Jodhpur was sent in <u>dola</u> to Akbar.	Rāthor (Jodhpur)	<u>B.K.</u> , 22.
25.	-do-	Prince Murād married the daughter of Bahādur Khān s/o Rāja Ālī Khān of Khāndesh	Deccani (Khāndesh)	<u>M.R.</u> , II, 481.
26.	-do-	Prince Sultān Salīm married the daughter of Rāwāl Bhim of Jaisalmer	Bhātī (Jaisalmer)	<u>T.J.</u> , tr. I, 326.
27.	-do-	Akbar married into the family of Tunwar chiefs	Tunwar (Gwalior)	<u>Z.K.</u> , I, 104 (from <u>Aīn</u> , II, tr. Jarrett, 198; it appears that Tunwar <u>zamindārs</u> were concentrated around Gwalior)
28.	-do-	Akbar married into the family of Baghela chiefs	Baghela (Bhatta)	<u>Z.K.</u> , I, 104.
29.	-do-	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Kesho Dās Rāthor	Rāthor (Merta)	<u>T.J.</u> , I, 19; <u>Waris</u> , 238.
30.	-do-	Danial married the dau- ghter of Dalpat Ujjainya the Rāja of Bhojpur	Ujjainya (Bhojpur)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 826.

31.	-do-	Akbar married Goharun Niṣā Begam, the sister of Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār	(Chandāwar and Jalesar)	<u>M.U.</u> , II, 564, 566; He was the son of Mhd. Bakhtiyār and resided in Chandāwar and Jalesar.
32.	-do-	Prince Salīm married the daughter of Darya Malbhās	--	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 572, the bride's father's name was Darya Komm and was a powerful Rāja at the foot of the Lāhore Mountains. See Prince's <u>Jahāngīr</u> , 34.
33.	-do-	Prince Salīm married the sister of Abiya Kashmīri, the son of Abdul Cak	Cak (Kashmir)	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 609.
34.	-do-	Prince Daniyal married the daughter of Abdullāh Biluc	Biluc	<u>A.N.</u> , III, 662.

### JAHĀNGĪR

1.	28th May 1608	Jahāngīr married the daughter of Rāja Jagat Singh s/o Mān Singh	Kachawaha (Amber)	<u>T.J.</u> , 68, 69; <u>M.J.</u> , 57a; <u>M.L.</u> , I, 259; <u>M.U.</u> , II, 141-2.
2.	1st Feb. 1609	Jahāngīr married the daughter of Rām Chander Bundela	Bundela (Orcha)	<u>T.J.</u> , 77.
3.	22nd Nov. 1614	Jahāngīr married the daughter of Rāja Lachmī Nārain of Cooch Bihar	Cooch Bihar	<u>T.J.</u> , 131.
4.	-do-	Jahāngīr married another daughter of Lachmī Nārain of Cooch Bihar	-do-	-do-
5.	April 1624	Prince Parwez married Manbhāvati, the sister of Rāja Gaj Singh	Rāthor (Jodhpur)	<u>T.J.</u> , 308; <u>M.P.-re-Vigat</u> , I, 108.
6.	June 1625	Dāwar Baksh, son of Prince Khusrav married Rāja Jai Singh's sister	Kachawaha (Amber)	<u>Akhbārāt</u> , 20th R.Y., J.N. Sarker's collection, Calcutta, 2-4.

7. -- Prince Khurram married Rāthor  
the daughter of Rāo (Jodhpur)  
Sakat Singh, son of  
Mota Rāja M.P.-re-Vigat, I, 111.

### SHĀHJAHĀN

1. 1654 Prince Sulaiman Shukoh Rāthor Wāris, 481; M.L., II,  
married the daughter of (Nāgor) 730; V.V., II, 342-43.
2. 1655-56 Prince Sultān Muḥammad Deccani M.U., III, 620-21.  
married the daughter of (Golcunda)  
'Abdullāh Qutub Shāh of  
Golcunda.
3. -- Prince Shuja married Kishtawar Lāhorī, II, 434-35;  
the daughter of Rāja Kanbu, II, 445.
4. 1657-58 Sulaiman Shukoh married Garhwāl Masum, Tārīkh-i Shāh  
the daughter of Prithvī Shāh, 153b, 156a.  
Singh

### AURANGZEB

1. 17th Nov. Prince Moḥd. Muḥazzam Rāthor M.A., 3-4, 181-82;  
1661 married the daughter (Kishangarh) Alamgīr Nāma, 639-41,  
of Rup Singh Rāthor, 874; V.V., II, 529.  
Rāja of Kishangarh She was converted  
to Islām.
2. 3rd May Prince A'zam married Assam M.A., 73.  
1669 Rahmat Bāno, the  
daughter of the King  
of Assam
3. 2nd Jan. Prince Muḥammad Sultān Kishtawar M.A., 148.  
1676 married the daughter  
of Rāja of Kishtawar

4.	1st Sept. 1676	Prince Mohd. Akbar married the daughter of Allah Quli Gakhar, the son of Murād Quli Gakhar	Gakhar	<u>M.A.</u> , 155.
5.	5th July 1678	Prince Mohd. A'zam married the daughter of Kirat Singh s/o Mirza Rāja Jai Singh	Kachawaha (Amber)	<u>Ibid.</u> , 167.
6.	26th July 1681	Prince A'zam married Shahar Bāno, the daughter of Ādil Shāh of Bijapur	Deccani (Bijapur)	<u>Ibid.</u> , 210.
7.	30th July 1681	Kām Bakhsh married Kalyān Kanwar, the daughter of Amar Chand, a brother of Jagat Singh of Mancharpur	Shaikhawat (Manohar- pur)	<u>Ibid.</u> , 210-11; <u>M.L.</u> , II, 510. Shaikhawat is a sub-branch of the Kachawaha clan; <u>Mirat-</u> <u>ul-Alam</u> , 556.
8.		Prince Muhammad married the daughter of Qutb-ul Mulk	Deccani	<u>M.U.</u> , II, 190-91.

## Chapter VII

### SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE MUGHALS AND THE RĀJPUTS

An eminent sociologist Professor J. Goody says that the marriage policy is the most important factor in the change of cultural features.<sup>1</sup> It would be, therefore, natural to assume that the marriage contracted between the women of the leading Rājput clans and the members of the Mughal ruling family must have brought about a certain degree of cultural transformation among both the groups. An attempt is being made here to study and analyse the impact of these marriages on the two groups and determine the extent of success they achieved in assimilating the various features of two cultures. To begin with one would like to study the nature of various ceremonies performed on these occasions and also the treatment of the Rājput princesses in the Royal harem with special reference to the Kachawāha princesses. In this connection all those instances that would go to suggest the nature and extent of the influence exercised by these princesses on the private lives and outlook of the rulers must also be taken into

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1. Jack Goody, 'Marriage Policy and Incorporation in Northern Ghana', Comparative Studies in Kinship, p.154.

consideration. At the same time, it must also be investigated as to how far the marriage alliances influenced the religious as well as social outlook of the Rājput chiefs and particularly those of the Kachawāha chiefs. Further, it will be examined, as to how far did the Kachawāha nobles cooperate with the Mughal Emperors with respect to some of their measures aimed at promoting a change in the cultural outlook of the nobility as such.

It appears that to begin with, while performing the marriage ceremonies, both sides were treated on an equal footing and the customs of both the Mughals and the Rājputs were observed.<sup>1</sup> When Jahāngīr married the sister of Kalyān Dās, the marriage ceremony was performed by Hindū rituals.<sup>2</sup> This implies that the daughters of the Rājput chiefs taken into marriages by Akbar were not converted to Islām. This practice appears to have continued during Jahāngīr's reign as well.<sup>3</sup> In the accounts of Jahāngīr's marriages with the Rājput princesses there is no reference to the conversion of the brides.

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1. Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, p.341.

2. Mārwār se Pargana ri Vigat, II, pp.440-41. Kalyān was the nephew of Mota Raja of Jodhpur.

3. In the account of Jahāngīr's marriages with the Rājput princesses, there is no reference to the conversion of the brides. Cf. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, pp.66, 69, 77, 131, 380.

But as is well-known, this policy was reversed by Aurangzeb. It is known that when in 1661, Prince Muazzam married the daughter of Roop Singh Rāthor, the bride was converted, perhaps with the concurrence of her father, to Islām.<sup>1</sup>

On the occasion of Prince Salim's marriage with the daughter of Bhagwant Dās in 1584, the marriage rites of both the Hindus and the Mughals were observed. While the proposal for this match came from the parents of the bride which was in conformity with the Rājput practice,<sup>2</sup> the marriage proper was solemnised first through aqd presided by a qāzī, fixing the mehr of the bride at two crore tankas, and later through the Hindu rituals of going round the fire. When the bride's litter moved in procession from her father's house to the royal camp, gold coins were scattered by Akbar all along the way. Rāja Bhagwant Dās gave in dowry several strings of horses, one hundred elephants, a large number of slave boys and girls of Abyssinian, Indian and Circassian origin, golden and silver vessels with jewels. The Rāja also presented Persian, Turkish

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1. Mā'āsir-i 'Alamgīrī, pp.3-4; 'Alamgīr Nāma, pp.639-41.

2. At another occasion (1608), the initiative came from the side of the royal family. Observing the Mughal custom, a sum of Rs.80,000 was sent to the bride's family as nachāq (marriage present). Iuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.67-68.

and Arabian horses with golden saddles to the nobles, present at the marriage ceremony.<sup>1</sup> In this connection, it is significant that Bādāunī who particularly noticed these details, has not criticised Akbar for allowing the marriage of his son to be solemnised in addition to 'aqd through Hindū rituals repugnant to the basic spirit of Islām. This would suggest that by the time Bādāunī compiled his book, this practice had come to be looked as an accepted norm even by persons of orthodox views so far as the marriages of the members of the Royal Family with the Hindū women were concerned. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, one may assume that on the occasion of Jahāngīr's second marriage into the Kachawaha family in 1608, the same procedure must have been followed. The only difference in the procedure, which is noted by Jahāngīr was that the initiative for the match this time came from the side of the Mughal ruler.<sup>2</sup>

Further, it seems that the Rājput princesses in the Mughal harem had full freedom to practice their religion. They also appear to have been instrumental in bringing about a notable

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1. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p.341; Tabaqat-i-Akbarī, III, p.346; Zakhirat-ul-Khayānīn, pp.103-4; Ma'sir-ul-Umarā, II, p.130.

2. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p.68.

change in the cultural outlook of the ruling family, making them generally tolerant in matters pertaining to religion and prompting them occasionally to participate in cultural functions and festivals of the Hindus. Badāuni, for instance, attributes Akbar's tolerant attitude towards the Hindūs and a tendency on the latter's part to participate in Hindū festivals and rituals to the growing influence of his Rājput wives.<sup>1</sup> Badāuni further holds that Akbar, being influenced by his Hindū wives, prohibited the eating of beef, onions and garlic. At least this practice continued during Jahāngīr's reign.<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr is known to have hunted wild boars and presented their meat to Rājputs.<sup>3</sup> Even the Mughal ladies showed respects for the cows. There is a nishān of Hamida Bāno Begam dated September 29, 1581, instructing the imperial officials of pargana Mahavan of sarkār Agra for grazing the cows of Bithleshwar. She also instructed that no one molest or disturb the cows from grazing.<sup>4</sup> It would appear that the

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1. Badāuni holds that Akbar celebrated the hom festival of the Hindūs in compliment to his Hindū wives. In 1581, he prostrated himself before the Sun and the fire in public. Further, he says that when in the evening, the lamp and the candles were lighted in the court, every one had to rise up respectfully. Akbar also celebrated the rākhi festival which was followed by his chiefs and nobles. Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, pp.261-62.
  2. Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Tailli, f.36b, Deptt. of History, Aligarh see also Pelsaert, Jahāngīr's India, p.21.
  3. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, pp.105, 157, 284; Coryat, p.281.
  4. S.I. Tirmizi, Edicts from the Mughal Harem, pp.1-5.

tendency to accept Hindū cultural practices manifested itself at an early stage in Akbar's life when he was still under the influence of the 'ulamā'. From a passage in Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh one gathers that as early as mid-seventies, Akbar used to put on yellow garments, made of a silken cloth, a Rājput practice was considered repugnant to the rules of shari'at by the orthodox people.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, a taste for such garments would be acquired by Akbar in the company of his Rājput wives. Towards the close of his reign, Akbar had started observing some of the typical Hindū rituals in clear violation of shari'at. It is known on the authority of Abūl Fazl that after Hamida Bāno Begam's death in 1604, Akbar had his head and moustaches shaved after the Rājput custom.<sup>2</sup> Further, it seems that the innate respect of the Mughal rulers for the sentiments and scruples of the others must have acted as an additional factor. In this regard, they were least concerned with the rules of shari'at. For instance, in June 1595, when Rāi Rai Singh of Bikāner was ill, Akbar asked the Rāi to go on tirath (pilgrimage to sacred places of worship).<sup>3</sup> In August 1639, Shāh Jahān granted 200 bighas of land in pargana

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1. Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, pp.210-11, 306.

2. Akbar Nāma, III, pp.830-31; Iqbal Nama-i Jahāngiri, p.468.

3. Akbar's farman to Rāja Rai Singh of Bikāner. See, A Descriptive List of Farmans, Manshuras and Nishāns, p.5.

Baikunthpur for the maintenance of chatri of deceased mother of Rāja Mān Singh.<sup>1</sup>

From Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, it appears that the Hindū practices established by Akbar, continued to be observed during Jahāngīr's time. The practice that on the occasion of rākhi festival the Hindū nobles would bind on the King's wrist costly 'strings of rubies and royal pearls and flowers jewelled with gems of great value' was discarded for sometime by Jahāngīr on account of the nobles indulging in extravagance. Henceforth, only the Brahmans would be allowed to tie pieces of silk on the King's wrist according to their own custom. But in 1613, Jahāngīr revived the abandoned practice and allowed the Hindu nobles to bind rakhis on his wrist.<sup>2</sup> There is also available evidence in Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, suggesting that the festival of Diwāli was celebrated by Jahāngīr in an elaborate manner. In 1614, Diwāli was celebrated at Jahāngīr's court by having gambling bouts for three consecutive nights.<sup>3</sup> In the same year Dashahra festival was celebrated with the usual decoration of

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1. Shāh Jahān's farmān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh. See, A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Nishāns and Manshūrs, p.6.
  2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.120.
  3. Ibid., p.131.

elephants and horses.<sup>1</sup> In 1659, on the occasion of 'Id-ul Fitr', Aurangzeb presented a khilat to Jaswant Singh.<sup>2</sup>

A close scrutiny of the surviving evidence also suggests that from around 1577, Akbar's Rājput wives started taking an interest in matters of state policy. Rafiuddin Shirāzī says that Akbar, in the influence of one of his Hindu wives, obviously promulgated an order of banning the sale and purchase of slaves. She argued that if slaves were continued to be exported on such a large scale, after sometimes there would be shortage of man-power in the Empire.<sup>3</sup> And the influence of these Rājput wives was exercised against the measures of recommended by the orthodox elements tending to discriminate against the Hindus. According to Badauni, in 1577, the Rajput ladies pleaded with Akbar for the release of a Brahman from Mathura, accused of using abusive language against the prophet. After the man was executed by Abd-un Nabi without proper trial, they protested to the king against this arbitrary attitude of the Sadr-us Sudur and instigated/to take steps against Abd-un Nabi.<sup>4</sup> If one is to believe Badauni, this episode was one of

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.123.

2. Ālamgir Nāma, pp.404-05. Bīsu, I, p.231; Rāja Jaswant Singh and Rāja Jai Singh both were given an elephant each on the occasion of 'Id in the 12th R.Y. Lāhorī, II, p.144.

3. Tazkirat-ul Mūlūk, MS. ff.231b-232a, cited in the Tazkirat-ul Mūlūk by Rafiuddin Shirāzī: As a source on the history of Akbar's reign by I.A. Khan, Studies in History, Vol. I, 1980, p.45.

4. Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, III, pp.80-82.

the prime factors contributing to the latter's fall in the estimate of the King.

Similar instances of the Rājput wives of the King taking part in high politics and trying to influence the course of events according to their own judgment or inclinations can be cited from Jahāngir's reign. It is known that Jahāngir's first Kachawaha wife, intervened over the issue of succession after Akbar's death. She disagreed with her relatives who were sponsoring Khusrav's candidature and tried to dissuade her son from claiming the throne against his father. According to Jahāngir, "she constantly wrote to Khusrav and urged him to be sincere and affectionate to him". Being frustrated in these efforts, she committed suicide.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in 1613, on the occasion of the festival of Dashera, Jahāngir's wives pleaded for Khusrav's release from prison and succeeded in securing a pardon for the Prince.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, ladies belonging to the imperial harem, Rājput princesses as well as others, occasionally entered into correspondence with the Rājput chieftains seeking to influence them politically. In 1627, Shāh Jahān's Rāthor wife went to

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, p.26; W. Finch, Purchas his Pilgrimage, IV, p.68; Tarikh-i Dilkusha, Ms. f.577a.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, p.123.

Jodhpur and stayed there for eight days canvassing support from among her relatives for her husband's claim to the throne against other contenders.<sup>1</sup> Available evidence indicates that Shah Jahān's favourite daughter Jahān Ara Begam (entitled Begam Sahiba) maintained occasional correspondence with Mirza Rāja Jai Singh regarding political and administrative matters. In 1640, she sent a letter to Jai Singh for the verification of Hem Singh's claim of being a real son of Rāja Chattr Sāl.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, she sought this verification from Jai Singh as she was approached by Hem Singh for a recommendation for the grant of a māngab to him. There is available yet another letter addressed to Jai Singh dated September 1651, commending his service in suppressing the Mewati rebels in pargana Kāmān and Pahārī and asking him to come to the court so that he may be sent to lead an expedition against Qandhār.<sup>3</sup> During the war of succession, in 1658, Nādira Bāno Begam, wife of Dara Shukoh, urging upon Jai Singh to devote himself fully to the operations against Shuja.<sup>4</sup> In October 1654,

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1. Mārwār-re-Pargana-rl Vigat, I, p.111.

2. Jahān Ara's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, N.184, preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikaner. Jahān Ara Begam was entitled as Begum Sahiba. Bernier, Early Travels in the Mogul Empire, p.5.

3. Jahān Ara's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, N.201. See, A Descriptive List of Farmsāns, Nishāns and Manshūrs, pp.32, 43. For similar correspondence between Jahān Ara and Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmur, see Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, VII, 1911, pp.447-58.

4. Nādira Bāno's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, N.231, preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikaner. cf. Qanungo, Dara Shikoh, n. 947.

Dāra Shukh congratulated Mirza Rāja Jai Singh on the birth of the latter's grandson and wished to be Mirza's guest on his way to Āmber.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact the blood ties created by the matrimonial alliances between the Mughal ruling family and the Rājput clans were attached great importance by both the sides. Sometimes, the members of the royal family would not feel averse to seeking help from their Rājput relatives in their mutual disputes. We know at least one such episode from Jahāngīr's reign which relates to Khurram's revolt, during 1621 to 1627. In April 1626, Khurram sent a letter to Jai Singh addressing him as khālu wherein he had asked the Rāja to help him against his father.<sup>2</sup> There exists ample evidences showing that the ties between the Mughal ruling family and the Rājput clans tended to raise the latter almost to the position of the members of the ruling family which distinguished them even from ordinary Rājput nobles. It is known on the authority of Bānke Dās that after Hamida Bāno Begam's death in 1604, all the Rājput nobles except Rāo Bhoj Hāra and Rāo Durga Chandrāvat who were not

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1. A Descriptive List of Fārmāns, Nishāns and Manshurs, p.33.
  2. Khurram's letter to Jai Singh, No.169. Preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bīkāner.

related to ruling family, had their heads shaved,<sup>1</sup> which is the customary Hindū practice of condoling the death of an elderly relative. On the other hand, we know in imitation of Hindū custom of celebration of Death Anniversary, Jahāngīr is known to have celebrated the death anniversary of Akbar in 1613, which was against the tenets of Islām.<sup>2</sup>

From all indications, it is evident that the Rājput wives and their relatives used to have considerable influence over the Mughal Emperors. The Rājput ladies related to the royal family in different capacities were treated with exceptional honour and much confidence was reposed in them. Jahāngīr was particularly attached to his Kachawāha wife, daughter of Bhagwant Dās, referred to above. She, on her part, had such a great affection for Jahāngīr's person that she would be prepared to sacrifice her relations with her own brother as well as son, if it came to a choice between them and her husband. According to Jahāngīr, it was on account of her great shock over the misconduct of her brother Mādhō Singh that she committed suicide in 1605. Jahāngīr, it is reported in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, did not take food and water for four days after her death.<sup>3</sup> Again,

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1. Bānke Dās rī Khyāt, p.145.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, tr. I, pp.246-7.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.26.

it was an indication of the considerable prestige enjoyed by the Rājput ladies related to the royal family that in 1572, Dāniyāl born of a concubine,<sup>1</sup> was given into the care of Akbar's Kachawāha mother-in-law, Bhār Mal's wife.<sup>2</sup>

Akbar considered the Rājput chiefs so faithful that he assigned the charge of surveillance of the Royal Harem to them. Among the Rājputas, Kachawahās were the favourites of Akbar for this job. Rām Dās Udāwat and Rāisal Darbārī were entrusted with the charge of looking after the harem.<sup>3</sup> The Rājput chiefs were also relied for guarding the chauki where the Mughal Emperors

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, p.15.

2. Akbar Nāma, II, p.373. Sujān Rāi Bhandārī (Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p.374) informs us that Jahāngīr was born of Bhār Mal's daughter. But this appears rather improbable and near contemporary authorities. Secondly, the manner in which Jahāngīr's upbringing is recorded in Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr (pp.40-41) suggests that soon after he was born, he was given in the care of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī's daughter. If the mother of the baby had been a Kachawāha lady, as suggested by Sujān Rāi, there is no reason, why the chroniclers would not have indicated it. It would also look extraordinary that in such a case, the new born baby (Dāniyāl) would have been separated from his mother and given in the care of another lady. If Akbar could trust his Kachawāha mother-in-law, Bhār Mal's wife, in the case of Dāniyāl, why would he not similarly show trust for a child who was related to her more closely. Lastly, if Jahāngīr's mother had been a Kachawāha lady, the Jesuits of Jahāngīr's reign would not have been highlighted only the fact of Khurāk's having been born of a Hindū woman. See, Jahāngīr & Jesuits, tr., C.H. Payne, p.111.

3. Ain-i Akbarī, I, p.40; Zakhiyat-ul Khawānin, MS. #.110; Ma'ārif-ul Umarī, II, pp.331-32.

used to encamp in the course of their journey. In 1596-97, Rāgho Dās Kachawāha is known to have guarded the chauki of Akbar in Punjab.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in 1606-07, Kesho Dās Māru Rāthor was appointed to guard the chauki of Jahāngīr.<sup>2</sup>

It would be wrong to suppose that after Rājput princesses were taken into marriages by the Mughal Emperors, all contacts were stopped between them and their parents.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, these marriages promoted more frequent and closer social inter-course between the Mughal ruling family and their Rājput-in-laws. There are ample evidences to show that the Rājput wives of the Mughal rulers would occasionally visit their parents and relatives. It is recorded in Akbar Nāma that in 1573, Akbar's Kachawāha wife visited Āmber to condole with her parents over the death of their son, Bhupat, killed during Gujarat campaign.<sup>4</sup> According to a Rājput chronicle, in 1627, Shāh Jahān sent his Rāthor wife to Jodhpur to influence her relatives to support him against other contenders for the throne.<sup>5</sup>

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1. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Joggis of Jakhbar, p.61.
  2. Ibid., p.85.
  3. M.L. Raychaudhury assumes that the Hindū wives of the Muslims were all dead to the family of their fathers and the social inter-course between the Rājput nobles and their daughters came to about after marrying their daughters to the Muslims. The Din-i Ilahi, p.143.
  4. Akbar Nāma, III, pp.15, 34.
  5. Mārwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.111.

At times the Mughal Emperors would personally visit their Rājput-in-laws on the occasion of death and marriages. In 1594, Prince Salīm went to Āmber to condole with his brother-in-law, Mān Singh, on the demise of Bhagwant Dās, who had died in 1589.<sup>1</sup> In August 1601, when Rām Dās's son Din Min Dās died, Akbar went to the house of Rām Dās to condole with him.<sup>2</sup> In May 1638, when Gaj Singh expired, Prince Murād went to the house of Jaswant Singh to condole with him.<sup>3</sup> When Rāja Gaj Singh of Jodhpur was on death-bed, Shāh Jahān went to see him at his house.<sup>4</sup> The Mughal Emperors also used to visit their Rājput-in-laws on the occasions of marriages and such other ceremonies in the family. In 1569, after the fall of Ranthambor, Akbar visited Bhagwan Dās's quarter and participated in a feast.<sup>5</sup> In 1601, Akbar personally went to the house of Rām Dās on the occasion of the marriage of the latter's daughter with Shyām Singh

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1. Akbar Nāma, III, pp.648-49.

2. Ibid., pp.788-9; Iqbal Nāma-i Jahāngiri, p.415; Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II, p.157.

3. Rieu, History of Marwar (Hindi), Jodhpur, 1938, I, p.210; when in 1667-8, Rāo Karan of Bikāner died, Prince Mu'mmaz condole with his sons Padam Singh and Mohan Singh, Nuskha-i Dilkusha, f.37a. In 992 A.H., Akbar personally visited Sānwal Dās Jādon when he fell ill seriously. Akbar Nāma, III, p.434.

4. Nuskha-i Dilkusha, f.64b.

5. Akbar Nāma, III, p.339.

and presented to the couple five lakh gāms.<sup>1</sup> According to Muhta Nainsī, Akbar had taken personal interest in arranging the match of Durjan Singh Shaikhawat's daughter with Sur Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur.<sup>2</sup> In October 1654, Prince Dāra Shukh conveyed his congratulations to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh on the birth of his grandson.<sup>3</sup>

It would appear that this climate of cordiality and close social bonds between the Mughal rulers and their Rājput-in-laws, particularly the Kachawāhas and the Rāthors, was not disturbed in any significant manner down to Shāh Jahān's reign. It is known that when Jaswant Singh married Biram Dev Sisodia's daughter in 1655, Shāh Jahān made a present of ten thousand rupees to the couple.<sup>4</sup> One may thus conclude that during Jahāngīr's reign, this kind of social contacts between the ruling family and the Kachawāha and the Rāthor clans were maintained in the same manner as under Akbar. Apparently, these were considered routine matters and therefore, were not reported in the chronicles. It is possible that sometime after Jahāngīr's

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1. Akbar Nāma, III, p.799;

2. Muhta Nainsī-rə-Khyāt, I, p.325.

3. Descriptive List of Fārmāns, Manshūrs and Nishāns, p.33.

4. Wāris, Pādshāh Nāma, p.298.

accession these contacts were temporarily interrupted owing to his estranged relations with Mān Singh resulting from the latter's support of Khusrav's candidature on the issue of succession. However, it is known on good authority that the Kachawāha chiefs were rehabilitated in Jahāngīr's favour after 1608 and close social contact between the royal family and the family of Kachawāha chiefs were fully resumed.

One interesting aspect of the consequences that flowed from the matrimonial alliances and consequential close contacts at a social and cultural level between the Mughal ruling family and various Rājput clans was the setting in motion of a process of limited kind of Islāmization among the Rājput clans enrolled in the Mughal service. This process manifested itself mainly in the form of growing interest particularly among the Kachawāhas in the Persian language and their involvement in the literary and cultural tradition handed down through the medium of Persian language. Among the Kachawāhas in Jahāngīr's service, Rāo Manchar Shaikhawat (pen name Tawsanī) was regarded as a distinguished Persian poet.<sup>1</sup> Bādāuni while praising Tawsanī's 'intellectual power' remarks, "since a Hindū had so much poetic genius and ecstatic feeling, I have recorded these verses".<sup>2</sup> Even

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.8.

2. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, III, pp.201-202.

Jahāngīr who had a rather dim view of the intellectual powers of the members of the Kachawāha clan acknowledges Rāo Manohar's proficiency in Persian language and goes on to remark that he was not 'without intelligence'.<sup>1</sup>

It seems the impact of Islāmic tradition on Rāo Manohar's family was quite considerable<sup>2</sup> which must have been partly the consequence of their acquaintance with the Persian literature. As a youth Rāo Manohar was called Muhammad Manohar by his family members.<sup>3</sup> Later on, after he came under Akbar's influence, he seems to have dropped 'Muhammad' from his name and came to be addressed as Mirzā Manohar.<sup>4</sup>

Mirzā Manohar's surviving Persian verses shed interesting light on the cultural outlook of the sections of the Kachawāha nobility that have already been exposed to one or the other degree to the influence of Islāmic tradition in

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1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.8.

2. It is said that during the 14th century, Mokal, the ancestor of Rāo Manohar had no issue. He became a father through the blessings of Shaikh Burhān. Thus he named his son as Shaikhjī. Therefore, he became patriarch of the Shaikhawat branch. According to the Shaikh's preaching, the Shaikhawats do not eat pork and all meat in which blood remains. Zekhīrat-ul-Khwāññīn, MS. f.110; Bānke Dās ra Khyāt, p.130; Ma'sir-ul-Umara; II, 170-72.

3. Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh, III, pp.201-2. Badāuni says that Akbar prohibited to name by the names of Prophet such as Muhammad, Ahmad and Mustafa in 1582; Ibid., II, p.314.

4. Ibid., III, pp.201-2.

India. His poetry permeates with a monotheistic approach and in harmony with intellectual attitude then current in Hindūstān, tends to conform to the philosophy of sulh-i kul. He goes out of his way in ridiculing and decrying the dogmatic attitudes.<sup>1</sup> This kind of non-dogmatic and sympathetic attitude towards Islām religion and its followers was also the hall-mark of the attitude of many other Kachawāha nobles serving under Jahāngīr. For instance, Mān Singh, who had refused to be enrolled as Akbar's murid so bluntly<sup>2</sup> is credited with building the jāma

1. The following are the verses of Manohar:

لی عشق تو در گیر کارست (۱)	کلیت سعی بیکار و بیکار میر رکرست (۱)
لی در در تو در کرم سر ایشان کارست	سیکار کلیت سعی بیکار و بیکار میر رکرست
یکان لودن و یکان کشیدن کشیدن (۲)	سیکار کلیت سعی بیکار و بیکار میر رکرست
که مرد دو جشن داده جای گزیر	از این کعب بر کشی و ساده سیکار
که ایمان جعل کعب پرستیست	تو سان عجل سیکاری دعا بر کشم
که ایمان سنت ایمان رکرست	چه کسر چه ایمان در کوئی دوستی کرد که دو آدم سوی است

For references, see Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, III, pp.201-2; Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī, I, pp.255-56; Zakhīrat-ul Khawāñin, I, p.220; Dabistān-i Mazāhib, p.152; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.117. For more couplets, see Mirāt-ul Aīam, I, p.556.

2. Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, pp.319, 364.

masjids of Lāhore<sup>1</sup> and Rāj Mahal.<sup>2</sup> Mān Singh is also known to have given a madad-i ma'āsh grant of 14 bighas of land in pargana Hājipur from his jagir for the maintenance of the tomb of a Muslim saint.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand the Rājput chiefs also brought with them the Hindī poets. Suraj Singh brought a poet from the Chāran community and introduced him to Jahāngir. The latter liked his poetry and presented an elephant to him.<sup>4</sup> Mirza 'Abdur Rahīm is known to have been well-versed in Hindī and Sanskrit. He used to compose poems in Hindī.<sup>5</sup> Further, it is known from the Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin that Mān Singh provided liberal facilities to his Muslim retainers for observing their religious duties.<sup>6</sup> But this did not mean that Mān Singh and his fellow Kachawāha chiefs were no longer Hindus. On the contrary, there is evidence showing that they looked with disapproval on any suggestion that they should accept Islām. They would go to the extent of even ridiculing a person making such a proposal. When

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1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, pp.107-8. Baini Prasad, the annotator of Matiqār-ul Umarā (I, p.405, f.n.3) incorrectly says that the mosque was built by Aurangzeb.
  2. Ancient Monuments of Bengal, pp.460-61.
  3. Madad-i Ma'āsh grant. For text, see R.N. Prasad, Raja Mān Singh of Amber, p.172.
  4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri, tr. I, pp.140-41.
  5. Vir Vinod, p.231.
  6. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, p.107.

Shāh Daulat, a Muslim saint, asked the Rāja to accept Islām, he ironically replied that it was not in his power to do so, unless the seal put on his heart is removed, and therefore, the saint should first pray to God to remove this seal and make him inclined towards Islām, and only then he could accept Islām.<sup>1</sup>

The Kachawāha nobles had close friendly relations with the high nobles of Tūrānī as well as Irānī origin. For instance, Mān Singh was particularly close to 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khānān, an Irānī by origin. According to Farid Bhakkari, the sons of 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khānān used to address Mān Singh as dādājī. While the latter on his part used to pay them some kind of pocket money allowance regularly.<sup>2</sup> It is known that when Khan-i Khānān got victory over Pindāra in Deccan, there he got an icon of four armed Vishnu which he presented to Rāja Suraj Singh.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Mān Singh was very close to 'Azīz Koka, the senior most Tūrānī noble of the realm. As already noticed, both of them were a party to the move of a section of the nobility to place Khusrav on the throne after Akbar. After Jahāngīr's

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1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, pp.108-9; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.69-70.

2. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānin, I, pp.107-10.

3. Risu, I, p.196. This icon is known to have been preserved in Jodhpur Fort.

accession, When Mān Singh was planning to withdraw to Bengal, 'Azīz Koka had sent his family members to the Rāja's residence at Āgra so that they might accompany him.<sup>1</sup> When Rām Dās was on military expeditions in the Deccan, he hosted a dinner to 'Abdullah Khān and other nobles.<sup>2</sup>

Mahābat Khān who had Rājput retainers in large number in his contingent had established very close relations with them. When he gave his daughter in marriage to Khwāja Naqshbandī, Jahāngīr objected and sent some nobles to bring Mahābat Khān's daughter to the court. Mahābat Khān became much perturbed. But when the Rājputs came to know the fact, they assured him that at any cost his daughter, whom they considered their daughter too, would not be allowed to be taken from them until their death.<sup>3</sup> Mahābat Khān's closeness with the Rājputs is also borne out by a number of cases in which he recommended to assign mansabs to Rājput chiefs. On the recommendation of Mahābat Khān, Jahāngīr assigned mansabs to Pratāp Singh Chauhān and his brother Kishan Singh Chauhān.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, at the time of his father's

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1. Darbār-i Akbarī (Hindi), p.124.

2. Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, p.62.

3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawāṣṣ, II, pp.133-34.

4. Ibid., p.115.

death, Rāo Karan of Bikaner was minor but on Mahābat Khān's recommendation, he was taken into the imperial service.<sup>1</sup> In 1634, when Mahābat Khān died, the Rājputs brought his corpse from Burhānpur to Delhi.<sup>2</sup> Further, one knows that when camp of Prince Azam's wife was surrounded by the Marāthās, the Hāras offered their lives in defence of her camp by exclaiming that "the honour of the Chaghtāis is one with the honour of the Rājputs".<sup>3</sup>

On the occasion of the festival of holi, Bahādur Khān used to visit his Rājput friends. In 1672, on holi festival, Bahādur Khān, who was in Deccan, visited the houses of Rāja Subhān Singh, Rāo Rāī Singh Rāthor, Rāja Anup Singh Rāthor and Muñkam Singh Chandrāwat. His sons Mīr Aḥsan and Mīr Mohsin used to pray with the Rājputs.<sup>4</sup>

After Jaswant Singh's death, his two wives Rāni Jādamdi and Rāni Kachawahī gave birth to two sons in Lāhore. At the birth ceremony, a number of Muslim nobles were invited to attend the function. They offered presents. Sarbuland Khān,

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1. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, II, p.399.

2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II (tr.), p.27.

3. Akhbarat, cited by J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, p.302.

4. Bhimsen, Niyakha-i Dilkusha, P.62b.

Kābulī Khān, Aṣad Khān and Ināyat Khān made presents of Rs.50,000  
Rs.40,000, Rs.25,000 and Rs.20,000 respectively.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently,  
when the message of the birth of the two princesses reached Jodhpur  
Nawāb Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Khān and Tāhir Beg faujdār went to  
congratulate to Rānī Deroī, a widow of Jaswant Singh. She  
felicitated Nawāb Bahādur Khān and Tāhir Beg with the presents  
of mohars and studded turbans.<sup>2</sup> Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Khān  
looked upon Jaswant Singh as his brother. Therefore, after  
Jaswant Singh's death, he was also in favour of Ajit Singh's  
succession. He was against the policy of Aurangzeb for destr-  
oying temples.<sup>3</sup> Even he argued with Aurangzeb for the  
succession of Ajit Singh. For this he paid heavy price of  
being deprived of mansab and personal effects.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Hukumat-e-Bahi, pp.94-95. Others who made presents were Darab Khān (Rs.2,000), Nihal Beg (Rs.200) and a certain qazi (Rs.7,000).
  2. Ibid., p.98.
  3. Ibid., p.99.
  4. Ishwar Dās, Futuhāt-i 'Ālamgiri, MS., f.74b.

## Chapter VIII

### RAJPUT CHIEFS IN THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

Athar Ali has established beyond any reasonable doubt that the war of succession was not a fight among the different religious groups. The groups of nobles who participated in the struggle in favour of the contending Princes for the throne cut across the religious and racial barriers. From Athar Ali's list of mansabdārs of 1609 zat and above, who supported the Mughal Princes, it is evident that even the Rājput nobles individually sided with the rival Mughal Princes according to their own interests or choice.<sup>1</sup> However, in this chapter, first we shall examine, who among the Rājput chiefs supported Dāra Shukoh and Aurangzeb and what was the attitude of these Princes towards the Rājput nobles? Secondly, what were the reasons which prompted different Rājput nobles to side with the contending Princes?

At the time of Shah Jahān's critical illness in September 1657 and later on the rumour of his death prompted Prince Shah Shuja, who was in Bengal, set out for Agra in hope of

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1. M. Athar Ali, 'Religious issue in the War of Succession', Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. V, 1963.

getting succession. This was greatly resented by Shāh Jahān who immediately sent Sulaiman Shukoh with Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh and Anirudh Singh Gaur to check Prince Shuja. At this time, Mirza Raja was promoted to 6000/6000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa,<sup>1</sup> and Anirudh Singh was raised to 3500/3000 with do aspa sih aspa.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, all commanders including the Rājputs, who had been sent from the Imperial Court to the Deccan to serve with Aurangzeb were recalled. In accordance with the order, Shatrusāl Hēda, Mahābat Khān and Najābat Khān were the first to move to Agra. Others who followed Shatrusāl and Mahābat Khān included Debī Singh Bundela, Sujān Singh Bundela, Amar Singh Chandrawat and Rām Singh Kachawaha,<sup>3</sup> Rāja Karan Singh of Bikaner, leaving behind his two sons Kesarī Singh and Pem Singh with Aurangzeb, made his way to his watan Bikaner.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards, throughout the war of succession Karan Singh stayed at Bikaner, which suggests that he adopted an indifferent attitude towards the struggle. But unlike other chieftains, even after Aurangzeb's

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1. 'Amal-i Sālib, III, p.277.

2. Ibid, p.278; Ma'sir-ul Umarā, II, pp.276-77.

3. Waqā'at-i 'Alamgīrī, p.21.

4. Ma'sir-i 'Alamgīrī, p.32; Ma'sir-ul Umarā, II, pp.287-90.

accession, he continued to stay within his chiefdom prompting Aurangzeb to order an expedition in August 1660 under the command of Awāñ Khān Khawāfi.<sup>1</sup> If one goes to the background of Karan's attitude, would find that in 1654, when Prince Aurangzeb went to Deccan, Karan's mansab was curtailed.<sup>2</sup> Further, in 1655, when the Prince made a tajwīz to raise Karan's mansab, Shāh Jahān turned it down.<sup>3</sup> This must have displeased the Rāo, though it is not clear why he should have become unsympathetic to Aurangzeb, who had recommended his promotion.

As Murad revolted in Gujarat and Aurangzeb made preparations to join him, steps had to be taken by the Imperial Court to counter any moves they might make. To block the possible route of Rājputana, Dāra Shukoh who was with Shāh Jahān in Agra contacted Akhey Rāj Deora of Sirohi and Rāna Raj Singh of Mewar. Dara Shukoh in his nishān dated 4th October 1657 instructed Rāo Akhey Rāj to adopt every possible measures to prevent Aurangzeb and Murad from entering his territory. The Rāo was

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1. Ma'ásir-i Álamgírī, p.32; Ma'ásir-ul Umara', II, pp.287-90.

2. This has been pointed out by Prince Aurangzeb in his letter to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh. The nishān is preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, S.N.221, old N.65; see also, Ma'ásir-ul Umara', II, pp.287-90.

3. Agáb-i Álamgírī, MS. ff.37b, 38a; Rugqát-i Álamgírī, pp.114-15.

also asked that if he required assistance, he could get from Jhakora where Rāja Jaiwant Singh's forces were stationed. Eventually, Akhey Rāj was warned of the disastrous results if joined Prince Murād.<sup>1</sup> In February 1658, Dāra Shukoh also wrote to Rāna Rāj Singh of Mewar for assistance. He asked the Rāna that either he should send two thousand troopers or he should join the imperial force personally against Aurangzeb.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Aurangzeb sent a khilāt and jewelled ring to the Rāna and solicited his support. Aurangzeb also promised the Rāna to restore all the territories annexed from Mewar in 1654 as a punishment for his fortification of Chittor.<sup>3</sup> Further, Aurangzeb in his nishān assured the Rāna that he would follow the religious policy of his ancestors, declaring that "a king who practises intolerance toward the religion of another is a rebel against God".<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, on 14th February 1658, the forces of Sulaiman Shukoh and Prince Shuja met at Bahādurpur near Benares;

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1. For Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Rao Akhey Rāj of Sirrohi, see Vir Vined, pp. 1106-7.
  2. For Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Rāna Rāj Singh, see Vir Vined, pp. 432-35.
  3. For Aurangzeb's nishān to Rāna Rāj Singh, see Vir Vined, pp. 423-26.
  4. Aurangzeb's nishān to Rāna Rāj Singh, reproduced in Vir Vined, II, pp. 419-20.

Shujā was defeated and fled towards Bengal. On the way, Rāja Gopāl Ujjainya, who had been granted the mansab of 1000/800<sup>1</sup> recently, plundered the forces of Shujā. In reward, the booty obtained by him was left to him.<sup>2</sup> Shāh Jahān also congratulated Jai Singh and in reward his mansab was raised to 7000/6000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa.<sup>3</sup>

In order to meet the threat from Murād and Aurangzeb Shāh Jahān appointed Rāja Jaswant Singh with a number of Rājput nobles to assume charge of Mālwa. The Rāja was promoted to 7000/7000 + 6000 do aspa sih aspa with the title of Mahārāja.<sup>4</sup> In the Hukumat-re-Bahi, we find the list of mansabdārs who were attached with Jaswant Singh for Mālwa. From this list, it is evident that 75 Rājput nobles were despatched with the Mahārāja. Most of these were Rāthors, being 13 in number and holding the mansab of 17,450/19,930. Sisodias were next with total mansab of 13,600/7,550. The third and fourth were the Hādas and Gauras

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1. This was mentioned in Prince Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh. The nishān is preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikaner, S.N.232, Old N.86.
  2. This was pointed out in Prince Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Rāo Akhey Rāj of Sirchī; op. cit.
  3. 'Amal-i-Sālih, III, p.279; In Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II, pp.575-77 at this time, his mansab is mentioned as 7000/7000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa.
  4. 'Amal-i-Sālih, III, p.285; Ma'āsir-i-'Alamgīrī, pp.3-4; Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.3.

with mansabs of 9,300/7,040 and 9,200/5,405 respectively. Six Bundela and eight Kachawāha nobles carrying the mansabs of 5,750/5,750 and 4,850/3,650 were also included. Among other clans there were 5 Chandrāwats, 6 Jhālas and 7 Chauhāns with total mansab of 2,900/1,445, 2,700/1,130 and 2,200/1,505 respectively. There was one each from Ghelot, Bhadūriya and Tunwar clans, holding the mansabs of 1000/1,200, 1000/800 and 1000/500.<sup>1</sup> After reaching Mālwa, Siv Rām Gaur was appointed the qilādar of the fort of Māndu.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the Rājput nobles Subh Karan Bundela, Bhagwant Singh Hāda, Manohar Dās Hāda, Karan Khichī, Rāja Sārangdhar, Raghu Nath Singh Rāthor and Indraman Dhandhera accompanied Aurangzeb to the North.<sup>3</sup> Here, it is noteworthy that some of the Rājput chiefs who sided with Aurangzeb might have had cause for animosity against Shāh Jahān ~~and~~ or they were of the minor position. For instance, Shāh Jahān had taken away the zamīndārī of Dhandhera from Indraman and conferred it

1. See the list, attached to the end of this Chapter.

2. 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.95, 102; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā', II, p.265.

3. 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.62-63; Mirat-ul Ālam, I, p.25; Bhim Sen, Niyakhan-i Dilkushā, tr. p.17.

upon Siv Rām Gaur.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Indrāman had been arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Junair.<sup>2</sup> When Aurangzeb started for the north, he released him and awarded him the mansab of 3000/2000.<sup>3</sup> Subh Karan Bundela because of Aurangzeb's personal invitation came and joined his service. He was granted the mansab of 1000 zat.<sup>4</sup> Rāja Sārangdhar held a minor position in the Mughal hierarchy. He held the mansab of 700/500.<sup>5</sup> In absence of information regarding the mansabs of the other nobles in the sources one may safely presume that they had previously held mansabs lower than 500 zat. Apparently, no very high Rājput noble initially supported Aurangzeb,<sup>6</sup> while two high Muslim nobles Najābat Khān (5000/5000) and Zulfiqār Khān (4000/2000) sided with Aurangzeb.<sup>7</sup>

Champat Bundela, who had rebelled against Shāh Jahān, was persuaded by Subh Karan to take Aurangzeb's service.<sup>8</sup> Subse-

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1. Lāhorī, I/ii, pp.241-42, 250; II/i, p.8; Ma'āsir-ul Umara', II, pp.265-66.
  2. 'Ādab-i 'Ālamgīrī, MS., f.99; Ma'āsir-ul Umara', II, pp.265-66.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ma'āsir-ul Umara', II, pp.317-20.
  5. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, p.20.
  6. Ather Ali in his list of mansabdārs, who supported Aurangzeb, has shown that Bhagwant Singh Hāda held the mansab of 2500/800. Actually, Bhagwant Singh seems to have been given this mansab after the battle of Samungazh. Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, pp.121-130; Ālamgīrnāma, p.190.
  7. Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.29-30; Ma'āsir-ul Umara', II, pp.81-93; III, pp.823-28.
  8. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, p.20.

quently, Champat helped Aurangzeb to cross the river Chambal from an unknown little ford.<sup>1</sup> In reward Aurangzeb assigned him the mansab of 5000 yat.<sup>2</sup>

Before the battle of Dharmat, Dara Shukoh in his nishan, dated 11th April 1658, again instructed Rao Akhey Raj of Sirohi for not allowing Prince Murad to enter his territory. He was told that any booty seized by him from Murad, would be awarded to him.<sup>3</sup> However, Murad did not take the road to Ajmer at all, but joined Aurangzeb for a dash into Malwa.

Eventually, on 15th April 1659, the battle of Dharmat was fought in which Jaswant Singh was defeated; a number of Rajput nobles under him were killed. Prominent among them were Sujan Singh Sisodia, Ballu Chauhan, Mukund Singh Hada,<sup>4</sup> Mohan Singh Kanha, Dujhar Singh Hada<sup>5</sup>, Dayal Das Jhala, Arjun Gaur,

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1. Bernier, p.43; Chatr Prakash, tr. by W.R. Pogson under the title of A History of the Scindias, pp.32-33.
  2. Bhimsen, f.16a; Bernier, p.43. But in Alamgir Nama (p.78), his mansab is mentioned as 1000/500. It is exaggerated in Chatr Prakash: "When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he distinguished Raja Champat with great honours, granted him a mansab, or command, of twelve thousand men, and a jagir free of revenue, from Ureka to Mulkunaru, and thence to the Jumna". A History of the Scindias, p.34.
  3. For Dara Shukoh's nishan to Rao Akhey Raj, see Vir Vined, pp.1109-10.
  4. Alamgir Nama, p.66; Muskh-i Dilkusha, tr. p.19; Hukumat-e-Rahabi, p.19.
  5. Amali-i Salih, III, p.287; Vir Vined, p.1410; Hukumat-e-Rahabi, p.19.

Rao Ratan and Goverdhan Rāther<sup>1</sup>. After this discomfiture, Rāja Jaswant Singh fled to Jodhpur.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Amar Singh Chandrawat,<sup>3</sup> Rāja Rai Singh Sisodia, Rāja Sujan Singh Bundela fled to their home principalities.<sup>4</sup>

Debi Singh Bundela and Amar Singh Narwari who were with Jaswant Singh now defected to Murad and Aurangzeb respectively.<sup>5</sup> Saun Singh, chief of Kalibhit and Ālam Singh Gaur, chief of Gunnur also submitted to Aurangzeb.<sup>6</sup> We can here see that the chiefs, whose watans, situated around the vicinity of the route from Dharmat to Āgra, were forced by circumstances to join the victorious Prince Aurangzeb. But in the case of MĀK Ālam Singh Gaur, additional factor moved him to join Aurangzeb. Ālam Singh had been antagonised by Shāh Jahān who had wrested the fort of Gunnur from his predecessor and assigned it to Muhammad Šālih.<sup>7</sup> Any way this exodus of the Rājput nobles was

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1. Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.66, 70; Vachnīka, p.93.

2. Mā'sir-i-Ālamgīri, p.5.

3. Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.70-71; Mā'sir-ul Umarā; II, pp.146-48; Viz Vīrod, 986-87.

4. Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.70-72; Mizāt-ul 'Alam, p.31; Mā'sir-ul Umarā; II, pp.297-301, 292-94.

5. Mā'sir-ul Umarā; II, pp.295-97; Ālamgīr Nāma, p.77.

6. Ālamgīr.

7. Lāherī, I, pp.370-71.

not unique in the sense that at the same time, nobles belonging to other sections of the nobility also defected to the victorious Prince. One can enumerate the cases of Nasiri Khan, Diler Khan Afghan, Mukhlis Khan and Saifuddin Mahmud who now joined Aurangzeb.<sup>1</sup> They were awarded high mansabs and lofty titles by Aurangzeb.<sup>2</sup>

Both the Princes Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb started preparations for the next battle. Shah Jahan in his farman dated April 25th, 1658, apprised Mirza Raja Jai Singh of the defeat of Jaswant Singh in the battle of Dharmat; the Mirza Raja was asked to join Dara Shukoh in the ensuing struggle.<sup>3</sup> But it seems that Jai Singh remained busy with Sulaiman Shukoh in pursuing Prince Shuja. There, Jai Singh distinguished himself in subduing the fort of Monghyr.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, Bahraj, xamindar of Menghyr deserted Prince Shuja and joined the imperial forces in pursuing the fleeing Shuja.<sup>5</sup> Again, Mirza Raja Jai

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1. Alamgir Nama, p.78; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, pp.42-46. Besides, Ma'ud Yadgar, Muhammad Muqim and Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi defected to Aurangzeb. Alamgir Nama, pp.52, 78.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Shah Jahan's farman to Jai Singh, Old No.109; A Descriptive List of Fermanas, Nishanas and Mansabwars, p.14.
  4. Shah Jahan's farman to Jai Singh, dated 9th May, 1658. A Descriptive List of Fermanas, Nishanas and Mansabwars, p.15.
  5. Waniat-i-Alamgiria, p.125.

Singh along with Sulaiman Shukoh was summoned to Agra but the Raja seems to have been tardy in compliance with the imperial order. Therefore, now Shah Jahan in a complaining tone stressed the necessity of his presence in the ensuing battle with Aurangzeb.<sup>1</sup>

If one goes to the background to search out the causes behind the Mirza Raja's lack of enthusiasm towards Dara Shukoh, one would find that in the third campaign of Qandhar (1653 AD), the relation between them had become greatly strained. Dara Shukoh asked the Raja to make an assault on the fort of Qandhar, but he refused with the plea, "we Rajputs are not very clever in digging trenches and siege work. Better let the Prince hand over this battery to whomsoever he pleases". Upon further persuasion by the Prince, Jai Singh categorically replied, "The assault cannot be made by me. Your Royal Highness may inflict any punishment for this fault of mine. I have no more business with Qandhar".<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it seems that Jai Singh

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1. Shah Jahan's farman to Jai Singh, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, old n.122, s.n.96.

2. Lataif-ul Akhbar, 35a, 151b. For more exchange of such dialogues between Dara and the Raja, see (Ibid., 20a, 184b) where Dara in a sarcastic manner says: "this is the third time that you have come to Qandhar. If you fail this time also.....how will you show your face to the women of Hindustan"? Manucci (I, p.225) says that Dara once insulted Jai Singh by humorously remarking that the Raja looked like a musician". See Qanungo's Dara Shukoh, pp.53,61.

was annoyed with Shah Jahan because of the growing affluence of the newly inducted Rajput clans in the Mughal hierarchy which were overshadowing the Kachawaha chiefs who once had enjoyed the leading position among the Rajput nobles. Jai Singh had inimical relations with Raja Bithal Das Gaur, who had become a favourite of the King after his accession. This is borne out by Dara Shukoh's nishan in which he instructed the Raja to maintain cordial relations with Bithal Das.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Aurangzeb conveying the news of his victory of Dharmat to Rana Raj Singh, sought his help.<sup>2</sup> But in the absence of the response of the Rana in the sources, one may suppose that the Rana still avoided siding with any of the rival Princes.

In the battle of Samugarh, Dara Shukoh was defeated; and he had to flee towards Delhi and then the Punjab. In this battle Rajput nobles Rup Singh,<sup>3</sup> Ram Singh Rathor, Shatrual Hada, Siv Ram, Bhim and Arjun Gaur,<sup>4</sup> fighting on Dara Shukoh's

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1. Dara Shukoh's nishan to Jai Singh, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, Old N.87, S.N.225.
  2. For Aurangzeb's nishan (dated May 1658) to Rana Raj Singh, see Vir Vined, pp.475-24.
  3. Alamgir Nama, pp.95, 105; Ma'asir-ul Ummra, II, p.265.
  4. Amal-i Salih, III, p.300; Alamgir Nama, p.102; Ma'asir-ul Ummra II, pp.251-56.

side, lost their lives. On the side of Murād and Aurangzeb, Garib Dās Sisodia was killed<sup>1</sup> and Subh Karan Bundela was severely injured.<sup>2</sup> Another Bundela chief Debi Singh was rewarded by Aurangzeb through appointment as faujdar of Bhilsa.<sup>3</sup>

After Samongarh, some more important Rājput nobles defected to Aurangzeb. Kunwar Ram Singh Kachawaha deserted Dara Shukoh and joined Aurangzeb.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Ram Singh's father Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Rai Rai Singh Rathor of Nager who were with Sulaiman Shukoh abandoned him and joined Aurangzeb at Mathura.<sup>5</sup> In reward, Aurangzeb assigned a jagir worth one crore dāms to the Mirza Rāja.<sup>6</sup> Sisodia chief Rāi Pāi Singh who after the battle of Dharmat had gone to Mewār came back and joined the service of Aurangzeb.<sup>7</sup> Others who joined Aurangzeb

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1. Mirāt-ul 'Alam, p.51; Muhta Nainai-re-Khyāt, I, p.31.

2. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.318-19.

3. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.296-97.

4. Ibid., II, pp.251-55.

5. Ibid., pp.233-37, 569-75; Vīr Vīṇād, II, p.685. Manucci says that Aurangzeb did not rely on the Mirza Rāja and therefore Aurangzeb instead of assigning him any important charge, sent him to Sambhar as 'governor' of that place. Sāgarī-de-Maṇḍal, I, p.305.

6. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.569-75.

7. Ālānūk Nāma, pp.70-71, 141-42; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.297-301.

included Kalyan Singh Baghela, Anirudh Gaur, Bhao Singh Hada, Kirat Singh Kachawaha, Girdhar Das Gaur, Sabal Singh Sisodia, Jagat Singh Hada, Suraj Mal and Manohar Das Gaur.<sup>1</sup> Thus after this decisive victory one by one almost all the Rajput nobles submitted to Aurangzeb.

Rajrup, chief of Mau-Nurpur in compliance with the imperial order had joined Dara Shukoh, at the time of his flight from Agra to Lahore. But later on when he saw Dara's weak position, he retired home.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, when Aurangzeb succeeded in bringing the Punjab under his sway, Rajrup joined Khalilullah Khan in the Punjab. He was now promoted to 3500/3500 and appointed thanedar of Chandi, situated on the border of the principality of Srinagar-Garhwal.<sup>3</sup>

When Sulaiman Shukoh engaged in his campaign against Shuja came to know about his father's defeat, he wanted to join

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1. Alamgir Nama, PP.220-21. Athar Ali has shown that before the battle of Samogar, Raja Raj Singh, Rajrup Kohistani and Man Singh of Guler were with Aurangzeb but from a close scrutiny of the sources cited by Athar Ali, one finds that these nobles joined Aurangzeb after his victory in the battle of Samogar. The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, pp.121-130.
  2. Amal-i-Salih, III, p.321.
  3. Alamgir Nama, pp.179-199.

his father by marching through the route of Saharanpur. But Rajrup, who was the thanedar of Chandi, prevented him from doing so and forced him to retire to Srinagar where the chief Prithvi Raj extended hospitality to him.<sup>1</sup> He also gave his daughter in marriage to Sulaiman Shukoh.<sup>2</sup> In January 1656, when Prithvi Raj's dominions had been threatened by an imperial expedition, Dara Shukoh had obliged him by introducing his son Medini Ray to the King and securing him pardon.<sup>3</sup>

In order to prevent any chance of Raja Jaswant Singh's collaborating with Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb summoned the Raja from Jodhpur. In response, Jaswant Singh despatched a contingent under the command of his sardar Mahesh Das.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, Jaswant Singh himself joined Aurangzeb at the bank of Sutlej in Punjab<sup>5</sup> during the latter's pursuit of Dara Shukoh.

Aurangzeb's victory in the battle of Samogar prompted Rana Raj Singh to congratulate the victor. The Rana sent his

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1. Alamgir Nama, pp.142-143, 178-179; Storia dei Mogoli, I, p.130.
  2. Tarikh-i Shah Shujai, MS. ff.153b, 156a.
  3. Dara Shukoh, by K.R. Qanungo, pp.135-39.
  4. Hukumat-e-Bahi, pp.29-30; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, VII, p.231.
  5. Alamgir Nama, p.183; Ma'shir-i Alamgiri, p.5; Hukumat-e-Bahi, p.31.

son Sultan Singh and uncle Hari Singh to congratulate Aurangzeb.<sup>1</sup> Aurangzeb giving no chance to Dāra Shukoh to win over the Rāna at any stage, promoted him from 5000/5000 to 6000/6000 + 1000 do aspa sih aspa. In accordance with his earlier promises, he assigned parganaMāndalgarh, Badner and Giyaspur to the Rāna. Moreover, Dungarpur, Banswara and Devalya whose chiefs had fought against Aurangzeb were also assigned as qhair 'amli jāgirs to the Rāna. In addition, two crore dāma were also granted to him in inām.<sup>2</sup>

Aurangzeb's pursuit of Dāra Shukoh, left Āgra open to an attack from Shuja. When Aurangzeb came to know about Shuja's move towards Āgra, he immediately decided to return. The forces of Aurangzeb and Shuja came face to face at Khajwa. Before the battle, Suraj Singh Bundela defected from Aurangzeb's camp and went to his home Orchha.<sup>3</sup> But two other Bundela chiefs Subh Karan and Indraman who sided with Aurangzeb distinguished themselves in the battle. Subh Karan's younger brother Prithvi Rāj succumbed to injuries.<sup>4</sup> Rāja Jaswant Singh who was with

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1. Vīr Vīned, p.424.

2. Aurangzeb's farmān to Rāna Rāj Singh, dated August 16, 1658, reproduced in the Vīr Vīned, II, pp.432-38.

3. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, tr. p.16.

4. Ibid.

Aurangzeb made a secret compact with Shuja and left the battle field and hastened home.<sup>1</sup> Now Aurangzeb, in retaliation ordered him deposed, and the chieftainship of Jodhpur was conferred upon the Raja's nephew Rai Rai Singh.<sup>2</sup> He was also raised to the mansab of 4000/4000.<sup>3</sup> Parganas Merta, Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana and Phalodi were confiscated from Raja Jaswant Singh and assigned to Rai Rai Singh. Muhammad Amin Khan, Mir Bakhshi was sent to seize Jodhpur from the Raja.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile Dara Shukoh, who had retired from the Punjab, had reached Gujarat via Sind. Jaswant Singh contacted and persuaded him for not going towards the Deccan and asked him to march against Aurangzeb.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, Dara set out for Ajmer and on his way, he succeeded in securing the help of Rao Akhey Raj of Sirohi.<sup>6</sup> When Aurangzeb came to know about these developments, he decided to march to Ajmer. Prince Muhammad

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1. Amal-i Salih, III, pp.323, 329; Hukumat-re-Bahi, pp.34-36.
  2. Alamgir Nama, p.288; Hukumat-re-Bahi, pp.35-36.
  3. Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.36.
  4. Ibid.; Ma'sair-i Alamgiri, p.17; Bernier, p.85.
  5. Ma'sair-i Alamgiri, p.18; Alamgir Nama, p.300; Waqiat-i Alamgiri, pp.109-11. But in Hukumat-re-Bahi (p.36), it is stated that Dara Shukoh sent his son Siphr Shukoh to Jaswant Singh for help.
  6. Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.36.

Sultan and Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumla) along with such Rajput nobles as Amar Singh Chandrawat, Sujan Singh Bundela, Subh Karan Bundela, Indraman Dhandhera, Ram Singh Rajawat,<sup>1</sup> Kunwar Sardar Singh Sisodia<sup>2</sup> and Bao Singh Hada,<sup>3</sup> Chatur Bhuj Chauhan<sup>4</sup> were left behind to pursue Shuja. The march of Aurangzeb towards Ajmer, bewildered Jaswant Singh who contacted Mirza Raja Jai Singh to arrange a reconciliation with Aurangzeb.<sup>5</sup> Mirza Raja secured pardon for Jaswant Singh with the condition that he would not help Dara Shukoh. Consequently, in the battle of Deorai, Jaswant Singh did not lend any support to Dara Shukoh. Now Aurangzeb countermanded his earlier order and restored Jodhpur and the title of Maharaja to Jaswant Singh.<sup>6</sup> In this battle, Raja Rajrup played a distinguished part on the side of Aurangzeb. Dara Shukoh and his forces settled their camps in the Aravalli ranges which appeared quite strongly protected. But Rajrup and his soldiers who were experienced in

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1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 15; Alamgir Nama, 497; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 147-48, 265-66, 291-94, 317-19.
  2. Rai Prakash, cited by Somani, R.V., History of Mewar, p.278, f.n. 32.
  3. Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p.126; Alamgir Nama, pp.221, 231; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 305-6. He was the son of Shatrusal Hada. After Shatrusal's death in the battle of Samongar, Bao Singh joined Aurangzeb's service with the mansab of 3000/2000 and the title of Rao.
  4. Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p.126.
  5. Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.37. See also Bernier, p.86.
  6. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.17; Mamuri, Tarikh-i Aurangzeb, MS. f.108a.

climbing and fighting in the hilly regions succeeded in attacking Dara's forces from the back of the mountainside. Eventually, Dara and his forces were routed and fled towards Thattah.<sup>1</sup> Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan pursued Dara Shukoh. Near the Bolan Pass a local chief Jiwan arrested Dara Shukoh and his younger son Sipihr Shukoh and handed them over to the imperial forces.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, they both were executed. Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan were renumerated with the presentation of 200 and 100 horses respectively. In addition, Jai Singh received one lakh rupees as a gift.<sup>3</sup>

Aurangzeb now turned towards Sulaiman Shukoh who was with Prithvi Raj in Srinagar. Aurangzeb despatched Rajrup and Kunwar Ram Singh to deal with Prithvi Raj. On persuasion by Jai Singh, Prithvi Raj surrendered Sulaiman Shukoh to the imperial forces.<sup>4</sup>

. Thus it emerges that initially the majority of the Rajput chiefs espoused Shah Jahan's and Dara Shukoh's cause,

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1. Alamgir Nama, p.293; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.279-81.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.26.

3. Ibid., pp.27, 28.

4. Bernier, pp.92-93; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.279-81; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, pp.723, 725.

deeming it to be their obligation to the throne. Even after the battle of Dharmat, the powerful Rājput chiefs instead of joining Aurangzeb either fled to their chiefdoms or remained with Dāra Shukoh. Only a small section of the Rājput nobles who were aggrieved with the imperial authorities went over to Aurangzeb. But after the decisive battle of Sāmongar, the Rājput chiefs had no course except to submit to Aurangzeb. These moves of the Rājput chieftains were not peculiar since this was the line of conduct followed practically by all sections of the nobility.

THE MANSABS OF RAJPUT NOBLES WHO SUPPORTED  
SHĀH JAHĀN IN THE BATTLE OF DHARMAT

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SISODIA

1. Raja Rai Singh s/o Bhinve	5000/5000	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 8.
2. Sabal Singh s/o Bagh	2500/1000	<u>M.U.</u> , II, 468-69.
3. Sujan Singh s/o Suraj Mal	2000/1000	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 10.
4. Fateh Singh s/o Sujan Singh	500	<u>Ibid.</u>
5. Daulat Singh s/o Sujan Singh	300	<u>Ibid.</u>
6. Ram Chand s/o Sujan Singh	---	<u>Ibid.</u>
7. Sunder Das s/o Gokul Das	900/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 12.
8. Mam Singh s/o Man Singh	400/ 150	<u>Ibid.</u> , 15.
9. Biram Deo	3000/1000	<u>Alamgir Nama</u> , 95; <u>Amal-i-Salih</u> , III, 456.

GAUR

1. Udai Bhan	400/ 200	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 8.
2. Hari Bhan	300/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Hiramani, cousin of Kirpa Ram Gaur	/ 40	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Parshu Ram	100/ 35	<u>Ibid.</u>
5. Raja Shiva Ram	2500/2500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 9.
6. Sada Ram	400/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
7. Suraj Mal s/o Shiva Ram	300/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
8. Arjun s/o Bithal Das	2000/1500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 10; <u>Mamuri</u> , 89b.
9. Suz Singh	200/ 30	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 10.
10. Bhinve s/o Bithal Das	1000/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 12.
11. Gurdhan Das	2000/2000	<u>Alamgir Nama</u> , 95.

HARA

1. Mukund Singh s/o Madho Singh	3000/2000	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 8.
2. Jujhar Singh	400/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Kanhi Ram	300/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Fateh Singh	200/ 40	<u>Ibid.</u>
5. Mohan Singh s/o Madho Singh	800/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 13.
6. Keeri Singh s/o Madho Singh	600/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 14.
7. Rao Satr Sal	4000/4000	<u>Dilkusha</u> , 16a.

BUNDELAS

1. Raja Sujan Singh	2500/2500	
	+ 500 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 9.
2. Indra Singh s/o Sujan Singh	500/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Jag Dev s/o Narhar Das	400/ 100	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Chyt Rang s/o Chandraman	200/ 100	<u>Ibid.</u>
5. Parbat Singh s/o Chandraman	150/ 50	<u>Ibid.</u>
6. Raja Devi Singh s/o Bharat Sah	2000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> , 10.

RATHOR

1. Raja Jaswant Singh	7000/7000	
	+6000 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 10.
2. Ratan s/o Mahesh Das	2000/2000	<u>Ibid.</u> ; Mamuri, 97a.
3. Fateh Singh s/o Mahesh Das	250/	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 10.
4. Mahesh Das s/o Suraj Mal	1000/ 500	<u>Ibid.</u> , 11.
5. Jujhar Singh s/o Mahesh Das	200/ 25	<u>Ibid.</u>

contd....

6. Gordhan	1000/ 500	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 12.
7. Rupsi s/o Gordhan	400/ 50	<u>Ibid.</u>
8. Ratan s/o Gordhan	200/ 25	<u>Ibid.</u>
9. Saram or Ram Singh s/o Ballu	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 14.
10. Udai Singh s/o Ram Singh	100/ 30	<u>Ibid.</u>
11. Kalyan Das s/o Mahesh Das	400 /400	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.15
12. Maha Singh s/o Kesho Das	400/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>
13. Raja Roop Singh	4000/3000	<u>Amal-i Salih</u> , III, 227; <u>Hatim Khan</u> , 29a; <u>Alamqir Nama</u> , 95, 102.

#### CHANDRAWAT

1. Rao Amar Singh s/o Hari Singh	2000/1000	<u>Hatim Khan</u> , 21a; <u>Alamqir Nama</u> , 65, 710; <u>Hukumat re Bahi</u> , 10.
2. Sujan Singh s/o Bithal Das	300/ 200	<u>Hukumat re Bahi</u> , 10.
3. Kalyan Das s/o Bithal Das	200/ 45	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Madho Singh	400 /200	<u>Ibid.</u> , 14.
5. Jagat Singh b/o Madho Singh	-----	<u>Ibid.</u>

#### KACHAWAHA

1. Raja Amar Singh Narwari	1500/1000	<u>Hukumat re Bahi</u> , 11.
2. Jagat Singh s/o Amar Singh	150/ 60	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Prithvi Singh s/o Jujhar Singh	400/ 400	<u>Ibid.</u> , 15.
4. Kirat Singh	1000/ 900	<u>Hatim Khan</u> , 29b; <u>Amal-i Salih</u> , III, 465.

GHELOT

1. Rawal Samarsi of Banswala	1000/1000 +200 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	<u>Hukumat re Bahi</u> , 11.
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CHAUHAN

1. Chatrbhuj	1000/ 600	<u>Hukumat-re-Bahi</u> , 11.
2. Pratap Singh	400/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u> , 13.
3. Ballu s/o Sawant Singh	700/ 300	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Tulchi Das s/o Ballu	300/ 60	<u>Ibid.</u>
5. Narhar Das s/o Ballu	200/ 30	<u>Ibid.</u>
6. Govind Das s/o Achal Das	100/ 15	<u>Ibid.</u>
7. Rukmand s/o Prithvi Raj	500/ 200	<u>Ibid.</u>

JHALA

1. Dayal Das s/o Narhar Das	1000/ 500	<u>Hukumat re Bahi</u> , 12.
2. Ragho Das	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Indrabhan	300/ 100	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Jagannath s/o Narhar Das	200/---	<u>Ibid.</u>
5. Uday Bhan s/o Jagannath	200/ 30	<u>Ibid.</u>
6. Varse	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u> , 14.

SHAIKHAWAT

1. Var Singh Dev s/o Dwarika Das	800/ 800 +200 <u>do aspa</u> <u>sih aspa</u>	<u>Hukumat re Bahi</u> , 12.
2. Vijay Singh s/o Dwarika Das	300/---	<u>Ibid.</u>
3. Jai Chand s/o Dalpat	500/ 250	<u>Ibid.</u>
4. Shyam Chand s/o Balbhadr	200/ 40	<u>Ibid.</u>

BHADURIYA

1. Maha Singh 1000/ 800 Hatim Khan, 29b;  
Alamgir Nama, 36, 240;  
Amal-i Salih, III, 465.

TUNWAR

1. Kishan Singh 1000/ 500 Hatim Khan, 21a;  
Alamgir Nama, 65;  
Amal-i Salih, III,  
467.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rājput chiefs who constituted a powerful class within Indian society were assigned an important place in the Mughal hierarchy by Akbar. Clearly, it was these chiefs who constituted the bulk of his Rājput nobility, since Akbar had little inducement to give ranks to Rājputs who did not have a territorial base or following or, in other words, who were not already large zamindārs. Once admitted to the nobility, they were treated at par with the Turānī, Irānī and other sections of the nobility. This naturally generated confidence among the Rājput chiefs. From the very beginning, Akbar cemented his bonds with them by contracting matrimonial ties with many of them. This signified to many a recognition of the high dignity of the Rājputs, rather than the reverse. Rājput chiefs, on their part, played an important role in expanding Akbar's Empire in far flung areas. The Kachawāhas having earned the confidence of Akbar, enjoyed the highest position among the Rājput chiefs. Next in favour was the Rathor family of Bikaner, with Rāo Rāi Singh at its head. Perhaps they were the favourites of Akbar because they accepted the Mughal suzerainty almost voluntarily.

The majority of the Rājput chiefs was taken in the Imperial service from the sūba of Ajmer or Rājasthan. This was obviously to be expected since it was this sūba which contained the most powerful Rājput principalities, including Mewār and Mārwa-r. These principalities, big and small, had a very large number of cavalry troops, as noted by Jahāngīr, and this meant that once the chiefs were won over, the Mughals would have access to an exceptionally large reserve of armed force.

Throughout Akbar's reign, the Rājput nobles enjoyed an important position in the Mughal nobility. But at the time of Akbar's death, there was a tussle among the nobility over the issue of succession. Like the Turānī, Irānī and other sections of the nobility, Rājput chiefs were also divided between the contending candidates - Prince Jahāngīr and Prince Khusrāu. Rāja Mān Singh, in league with Mirzā 'Azīz Kokā, was in favour of Khusrāu's succession, while Rām Dās Udāwat and Rāi Sāl Darbārī espoused the cause of Jahāngīr. It seems that Jahāngīr, after his accession, had adopted a policy of reserve towards the established Rājput chiefs who had opposed him, while he sought to promote the lesser chiefs who had been his supporters. Jahāngīr followed an almost similar policy in respect of the high Akbarshāhī nobles of other racial groups, trying to curtail their power by bringing into prominence his own protégés, the Jahāngīrshāhī nobles. The high favour shown to the Bundela clan,

and then the Sisodias after<sup>170</sup> 1614 Mewār Settlement, suggest Jahāngīr's anxiety to favour those who were personally linked to him. This was also at the root of his insistence on deciding the succession to tīka in the chiefdoms.

The following Table assembles in compact form our information about the mansabs held by the Rājputs out of the total mansabs during the period 1605-57. There is a significant decline in the Rājput share of the total mansabs between 1605 and 1621, but thereafter it showed a slight but consistent recovery till near the close of Shāh Jahān's reign.

S.No.	Year	Total <u>Jamādāmī</u> of the Mughal Empire in dāms	Total <u>mansabs</u> of the Mughal nobles	Total <u>mansabs</u> of the Rājput nobles	Percentage
1.	1605 AD	5,83,46,90,344	2,08,000/ 58,950	58,300/18,700	28.02/31.72
2.	1612 AD	- - -	3,08,200/147,550	66,200/24,940	21.44/16.9
3.	1621 AD	6,30,00,00,000	4,48,350/272,610	57,700/34,100	13.5/12.54
4.	1637 AD	6,57,73,57,625	6,33,000/441,845	84,350/59,780	13.33/13.53
5.	1647 AD	9,15,09,90,776	6,76,600/597,575	92,150/74,480	13.62/12.46
6.	1657 AD	9,12,24,45,846	8,05,700/680,145	1,17,150/101,280 <sup>*</sup>	14.54/14.89

For the jamādāmī figures, see Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 399; For the total mansabs of the Mughal nobles from 1605 to 1637 AD (except that of 1612 AD, which has been taken from the unpublished thesis of Afzal Husain, The Role of Family Groups of Nobles in Mughal Politics, Department of History, Aligarh) see, Irfan Habib, 'Mansab System, 1595-1637' PIHC, 1967.

The total mansabs of the alive nobles during 1647 AD and 1657 AD are computed from the lists of Lāhorī's Bādshah Nāma and Wāris' Bādshah Nāma.

In absolute terms the mansabs of the Rājput chiefs continued to increase from Akbar to the close of Shāh Jahān's reign, but this rise could not keep pace with the rise of the total mansabs of the Mughal nobility.

This indicates that the non-Rājput nobles were recruited in large numbers after 1605. Jahāngīr's tilt towards the family members of Nūr Jahān is worth citing here. He also favoured members of the families of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, 'Abdullāh Khān Firuz Jang, Khān-i Jahān Lodi and Mahabat Khān. Moreover, the influx of the Deccan nobles too started from Jahāngīr's reign and their number increased under Shāh Jahān.

As far as the assignment of administrative offices is concerned, the Rājput chiefs seem to have been largely passed over during this period. None of the Rājput chiefs is known to have held governorship or faujdāri under Jahāngīr after Mān Singh's recall from Bengal. But Shāh Jahān began to assign such offices to them. Even then, the Rājput chiefs could not attain the status their predecessors had already enjoyed under Akbar. On the other hand, in regard to the payment to the retainers of the Rājput chiefs, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, unlike Akbar, treated them at par with the Tūrānī and Irānī nobles. This parity might have been granted because by this time the Tūrānī and Irānī nobles were allowed to recruit the indigenous retainers in their contingents.

An important feature of the basis on which the Rājput chiefs were made part of the nobility, was the recognition of their hereditary territories as their watan jāgīr. It was deemed a permanent assignment, but it carried a jama'dāmī like ordinary jāgīrs. The jama'dāmī of their watan jāgīr was adjusted in the chiefs' pay-bills, so that unless the jama' was nominal (which in most cases, it was not), the chiefs did not gain monetarily by holding the watan jāgīr. But at the same time, it ensured the Rājput chiefs a minimum fixed mansab which would accord with the jama'dāmī of the watan jāgīr. This minimum mansab thus practically became hereditary. Besides these hereditary dominions, certain favourite Rājput nobles were given new watan jāgīrs. The first case of the creation of watan jāgīr can be traced back to the end of Akbar's reign. It was, on the other hand, rare for the Mughal Emperors to take away watan jāgīrs from the chiefs, except by way of punishment for some fault or upon rebellion. Generally, the Rājput chiefs were left free to manage the affairs of their watan jāgīrs as they wished. But the chiefs themselves seem to have followed the general pattern of the Mughal administration, though there were numerous local variants.

The Mughal Emperors sometimes subverted the chiefs' power by establishing direct links with their thikānadars who

were taken into Imperial service as mangabdārs. These thikānadaras thus became chiefs in their own right and their thikānas became their watān jaqīrs. This process diminished the power of the big territorial chiefs. But before any major disintegration could take place in the Rājput chiefdoms, the Mughal Empire itself began to decline which offered an opportunity for the principal chief of the tribe to reassert his authority over those thikānadaras and sardārs, who had separated themselves from their traditional overlord. This can especially be seen in the subsequent history of the Āmber principality (Jaipur State). Some of the thikānadaras had, however, become so strong by now that they did not yield to their erstwhile lord. This can be seen in Mewār. The chiefs of Bundī, Kota, Dungarpur and Bānswāra who were at one period sardārs of the Sisodia chief, now headed separate principalities.

In questions of succession the Mughal Emperors normally followed the custom prevailing in the Rājput clans. It is noteworthy that after joining the Mughal service, the authority of the Paramount Power proved normally adequate to prevent those internal feuds over succession which had been so common a feature of Rājput dynastic history. This certainly gave stability to Rājput principalities, and also linked the chiefs in some kind of customary dependence to the Empire. The principalities probably also benefited economically from the jāgīrs given to the chiefs outside the watān, in lieu of

promotions given upon service. The extra revenues flowed into the home principality.

An outcome of the Mughal-Rājput polity was to establish matrimonial ties between the Imperial Family and the Rājputs. For this there had been precedents: The marriages sealed the political tie, and, as we have said, awarded some kind of special status to the Rājput clan concerned. It was considered necessary to take the bride at the time of the chief's first entry into service. The powerful Rājput clans such as the Kachawāhas of Āmber and Rāthors of Mārwār were given the privilege of fresh matrimonial ties with the Mughal ruling family. There is no basis to say that the Rājput chiefs who gave their daughters in marriage to the Mughals were deemed outcasts by their peers. The Rājput chiefs who had established such ties with the Mughals continued to receive princesses in marriage of those Rājput chiefs who had obtained from matrimonial alliances with the Mughals. Rather, it seems that the social position of the Rājput clans, who had matrimonial ties with the Mughals was considerably enhanced. There was little caste or religious bitterness that was aroused at the time by these marriages; on the other hand, they more firmly bound important Rājput clans to the Mughal Court.

The Rājput chiefs served as military commanders/<sup>jāgīra</sup> and obtained various regions of the Mughal Empire. They established new towns

and villages in these territories. Mān Singh founded the famous city of Rāj Mahal in Bengal. Rāo Karan established Karanpura in Deccan. Rām Dās Kachawāha and Rāo Manohar established gardens in Punjāb. Mān Singh built a temple in Orissa and a mosque at Rāj Mahal. Bir Singh Deo Bundela also built a temple in Mathura. Rāo Karan made grants to the temple of Nāsik in the Deccan. The Rājput chiefs thus contributed much towards a cultural unification of the Empire in geographical terms.

The Rājputs played a significant role in the war of succession. Until the decisive battle of Sāmugarh, Rājput chiefs (except a few petty chiefs) either supported Shāh Jahān and Prince Dāra Shukoh or remained neutral. But after this battle, the Rājput chiefs, foreseeing the feeble position of Prince Dāra Shukoh, began to shift their loyalty to Aurangzeb. In this the Rājputs' attitude was not exceptionally opportunistic. Uptill the War of Succession of 1707-09, the tradition in the Mughal nobility was that the nobles supporting a defeated prince would go over to the victor without loss of life or rank. Thus once the battle of Sāmugarh proved who the successful candidate was, the Rājput chiefs by and large hastened to make their peace with him, and were, in line with the Mughal tradition, accepted by the victor with full honours.

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